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ABSTRACT

This document contains 35 papers and 4 symposia/poster sessions presented at a Canadian conference on the study of adult education. The following papers are among those included: "Adult Education on the Internet: New Dawn Breaking or Sky Falling?" (Archer); "'Shapeshifting': Negotiating Identity in First Nations Adult Education" (Atleo, Atleo); "Beginning to Unravel Our Conceptions of Reflective Practice: Reflecting On A Definition of Reflective Practice" (Benjamin et al.); "A Critical History of National Adult Literacy Policy in Tanzania and Recent Canadian Project Experience" (Blunt); "The Impossible Issue of Professionalization for Adult Educators in Quebec" (Bouchard); "Identities and The Changing Community College Landscape" (Brewer); "The Sound of Clashing Cultures: Coordinating

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External Training In An Academic Department" (Church, Foth); "Lost in Space: Reinventing Ourselves as Learners on The New Frontier" (Conrad); "Spiritual Possibilities of Informal Learning" (English); "Experiential Learning Revisited" (Brillinger); "Good Work! Redefining Academic Values From a Critical Feminist Perspective" (Gouthro); "Canadian and US Academic Adult Education (1917-1970)" (Grace); "Experiential Learning: Who Benefits Who Loses?" (Grosjean); "Social Movements and Professional Cadre: The Formation Of An Aboriginal Teacher Education Program" (Hesch); "'But I'm Not A Therapist': The Challenge of Creating Effective Literarcy Learning For Survivors of Trauma" (Horsman); "Knowledge Construction In The Virtual Classroom" (Kanuka, Kreber); "Response-ability For Writing Research That Honors Practitioners' Ways of Knowing" (Lander); "Can We Design Culturally Sensitive Interactive Distance Education? Maybe" (Lauzon); "Reducing Communicative Distortion in the Cyber-Learning Paradigm" (Petlock); "Mapping the Fault Line: The Rise of Professionalization and the Fall of Social Policy in North American Adult Education" (Quigley); "A Framework for a Cultural Materialist Approach to Adult Learning" (Sawchuk); "Public and Private Relationships for Adult Educators" (Scott); "From Learning to Credential: PLAR (Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition)" (Spencer et al.); "It Takes Two to Tango: Defining the Century as a Discourse Between Learning and Education" (Thomas); "A New Initiative for Continuing Professional Development" (Wright, Einsiedel, Jr.). Most papers contain author abstracts in both English and French. (AJ)

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L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

Passion et Politique : 99 ans d'Éducation des adultes

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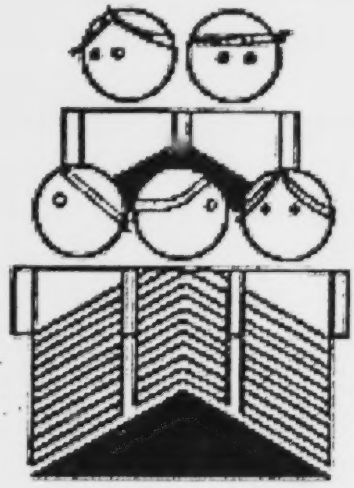

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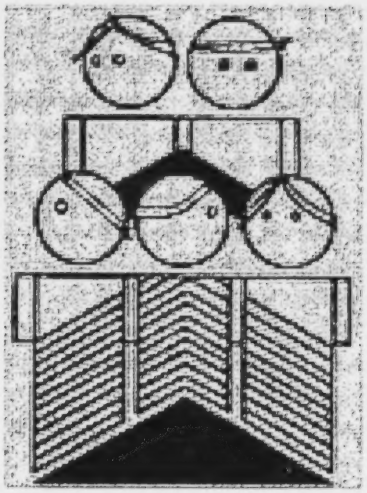

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BIENVENUE AU 18[e] CONGRÈS DE L'ACÉÉA/CASAE

Au nom du conseil d'administration de CASAE/ACÉÉA, il me fait plaisir de vous souhaiter la bienvenue au congrès de 1999. Cette année, c'est la 18[e] fois que nous, éducateurs d'adultes, sommes venus de tous les coins du pays afin de partager nos résultats de recherche, renouer des amitiés et discuter des travaux de notre association. Pour vous, nous avons planifié trois journées complètes d'activités qui reflètent notre thème pour cette année «*Passion et politique : 99 ans d'éducation des adultes au Canada*».

Comme cela s'est fait l'année précédente, nous avons prévu des sessions avec d'autres associations; une session avec la *Société canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation* et une autre avec nos amis et collègues du *Réseau pour les nouvelles approches de l'apprentissage continu* (NALL) qui portera sur une revue des travaux accomplis dans ce domaine.

Notre réception du jeudi soir sera consacrée à des activités culturelles et notre banquet du vendredi soir fera place à un conférencier invité; M. Edmund O'Sullivan (OISE/UT). Nous avons changé l'organisation de notre congrès afin de répondre aux demandes exprimées l'année dernière. Il y aura plus de temps entre les sessions pour faciliter les déplacements d'une session à l'autre, incluant des périodes de 20 minutes de pause santé matin et après-midi.

Vendredi, le 11 juin de 10h30 à midi, se tiendra notre assemblée annuelle. Je vous prie d'y participer afin de connaître nos activités et d'y contribuer par votre temps et par votre énergie; les associations comme l'ACÉÉA/CASAE ont besoin de capitaliser sur les talents de leurs membres pour réussir.

J'aimerais remercier Mohamed Hrimech et Tara Fenwick pour leur contribution au processus de planification du congrès. Mohamed a été très impliqué dans la mise sur pied du programme global, dans la cueillette et l'élaboration des actes du congrès. Tara a fourni un leadership apprécié dans la réception et l'évaluation des résumés de propositions.

Cette année, ce sera ma dernière année en tant que votre président. J'aimerais vous exprimer mes meilleurs vœux pendant le congrès comme dans le futur et souhaite que vous continuiez à contribuer de façon importante au développement de notre connaissance de l'éducation des adultes.

Bon congrès,

Bill Fallis

WELCOME TO THE 1999 CASAE-ACÉÉA CONFERENCE

On behalf of the Board of CASAE-ACÉÉA I would like to welcome you to our 1999 conference. This is the 18th year that we, as Adult Educators, have come together from all parts of the country to share our research, reestablish friendships, and discuss the workings of our association.

We have planned three full days of activities that reflect our theme, «*Passion and Politics : 99 Years of Adult Education in Canada*».

As was the case last year, we have included sessions with other associations. There are two joint sessions with the Canadian Society for the Study of Education. The second session includes a review of the work accomplished by our friends and colleagues at the *New Approaches to Lifelong Learning network* (NALL). Our Thursday night reception will focus on «*Cultural Celebrations*» and our Friday night banquet will include guest speaker Edmund O'Sullivan (OISE/UT). We have changed the structure of the conference to reflect your concerns from last year. There will be more time during each session and more time to get from one session to the next. This includes 20 minutes coffee breaks most mornings and afternoons.

On Friday, June 11 from 10:30 to 12:00 p.m. we will hold our annual general meeting. Please plan to attend, to learn about our operations and to make a direct contribution of your time and energy. Associations, like CASAE, rely on its members' talents to succeed.

I would like to thank both Mohamed Hrimech and Tara Fenwick for their work towards the conference planning process. Mohamed has been very supportive of the development of the general conference program and the collection of the papers for the proceedings. Tara has provided strong leadership in receiving and assessing the abstracts.

This will be my last conference as your President, I would like to extend my best wishes to you both during this conference and in the future, as you continue to make important contributions to our growing knowledge of adult education.

Good cheer to you,

Bill Fallis

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ADULT EDUCATION ON THE INTERNET: NEW DAWN BREAKING OR SKY FALLING?

Walter Archer
University of Alberta

More and more adult education is being delivered via the Internet. This is leading to competition on a global scale, affecting even educational institutions that operate primarily in face-to-face mode. Such institutions can take a number of measures to defend and even improve their programs in the face of this competition.

L' Internet est de plus en plus utilisé pour l'éducation des adultes. Ceci génère une concurrence à l'échelle mondiale à laquelle n'échappent pas les établissements d'enseignement qui utilisent principalement le mode face-à-face. Ces établissements peuvent prendre certaines mesures pour défendre et même améliorer leurs programmes face à cette concurrence.

We live now with the great secret, and the equally great anxiety, that the technological experience is both Orwellian and hopelessly utopian. (Kroker, 1984, p. 125)

It is not a great secret that more and more adult education is being delivered via the Internet. Nor is it a secret that this is leading to competition on a global scale, affecting even providers of adult education that operate primarily in face-to-face mode. However, there is certainly great anxiety around the issue of online education, and what implications it has for the future of universities and other institutions. This non-secret, and the accompanying anxiety, have resulted in something like a dialogue of the deaf between spokespersons of two extreme positions.

On the one hand, some see online education as the dawn of a bright new day, a utopia of universal access to high quality education. On the other extreme, some see the explosive growth of online education as the beginning of the end for free and democratic adult education anchored by free and autonomous universities, and the beginning of an Orwellian darkness in which education is monopolized by Big Brother.

This paper will look briefly at the two extreme positions, then follow with some suggestions that are somewhat more constructive than those put forward by either the cyber-utopians or the prophets of cyber doom. It is expected that members of the audience will add other suggestions for dealing constructively with the disruptions caused by online adult education.

Utopian Dawn

> *The minds of the Utopians, when primed with a love for learning, are very ingenious in discovering all such arts as are necessary to carry it to perfection.*
> Saint Thomas More, *Utopia*.

For at least the past three decades some devotees of grassroots democracy have been telling us that the development of computer networks will result in the dawn of a new day of democracy, freeing us from the darkness of bureaucratic or corporate control. Among the first to herald this new dawn was Stewart Brand, of *Whole Earth Catalog* fame, later equally renowned as one of the co-founders of that famous electronic community, the WELL (Whole Earth 'Lectronic Link). Hauben & Hauben (1997), chroniclers of the development of the Internet, particularly the myriad of online discussion groups known as Usenet, also wax lyrical over the social and civic possibilities inherent in computer mediated communication. Their last chapter is titled "The computer as democratizer."

While a number of these commentators touch on education, it was Ivan Illich who gave us what is perhaps the clearest, most comprehensive statement of the utopian position regarding online education. His book *Deschooling Society* (1971) aroused a great deal of public interest and controversy with its proposal to bulldoze what he described as our anti-educational and life-constricting educational institutions and replace them with a more democratic, convivial framework for lifelong learning. This more convivial form of education would consist of a set of four "learning webs." Although Illich was writing before the era of the personal computer, he saw the educational potential of a network of computers linked by telecommunications, and stated that such a network could be a medium through which his learning webs could be implemented.

A more recent statement of a rather different view of computer mediated educational utopia is that by Perelman (1992), writing after the introduction of the personal computer had made the possibility of widely accessible computer networks much more obvious. Perelman (and others) take the view that computer networks do not have to replace the school system; they just have to replace the teachers, who encumber the present system to the extent that it cannot, in an efficient manner, serve the basic training needs of the economy. (See Archer (1996) for a longer discussion of the contrasting utopian visions of Illich and Perelman.)

Orwellian Gloom

Down with Big Brother! Down with Big Brother!
George Orwell, *1984*

Other observers have expressed great anxiety that Internet-delivered adult education will bring down the sky on our heads, turning our public educational institutions into sweatshops administered in top-down fashion in the service of the corporate sector. Among the most piercing of these pronouncements of doom are two papers published by David Noble on the subject of "Digital diploma mills" (Noble, 1997, 1998). Noble's vision of the future has much in common with that of Perelman. However, Noble definitely does not think that replacing high priced professors with a combination of online courseware and less expensive instructors is a good thing. He sees this loss of autonomy, and possibly employment, by professors as an opening of the floodgate that will allow corporate interests, abetted by conniving university administrators, to destroy university education as we have known it. This catastrophe would leave to universities only the role of supplying trained personnel to the corporate sector at public expense (1997, p. 3).

Noble states that the battle lines are drawn, with the students taking the side of the professors (such as those at York University) who are opposing the trend to online education:

> Thus, at the very outset of this new age of higher education, the lines have already been drawn in the struggle which will ultimately determine its shape. On the one side university administrators and their myriad commercial partners, on the other those who constitute the core relation of education: students and teachers. (1997, p. 1)

The Orwellian future that Noble most dreads is that presented by the possibility of a takeover of university education by commercial firms, where those few professors who remain after the endless "downsizing" that institutions have recently endured will be reduced to the role of deskilled producers of courseware. Others echo this nightmare scenario – e.g., Ted Marchese, vice president of the American Association for Higher Education:

> A big fear among U.S. university leaders and postsecondary start-ups alike is that – just as happened in banking and health care – major international combines will emerge to quash today's smaller-time competitors. What would the postsecondary marketplace look like if (say) Microsoft, Deutsche Telekom, International Thomson, and the University of California combined to offer UC courses and degrees worldwide? In time, its only competitor could be a combine of like standing and deep pockets: an IBM-Elsevier-NEC-Oxford combine, for example. We shall see. (Marchese, 1998, p. 6 of 7)

But should these prophecies of doom be taken at face value?

Orwell Revisited

All animals are equal, but some are more equal than others.
George Orwell, *Animal farm*.

George Orwell wrote not one but two socio-political allegories. It may well be that at least some of the writers who describe the "Orwellian" nature of online adult education have been reading from one of these books while showing us the cover of the other. While some of the critics of online education do, in fact, raise legitimate concerns for students and society in general, a great deal of their concern seems to be about the threat to the power and autonomy of university professors. In fact, conventional universities as described by Noble et al. have a great resemblance to the animal farm described by Orwell – but as seen from the point of view of the pigs.

Not all the other animals on the university farm are as happy as the pigs; they are certainly not as equal. For this and some other reasons, some of the other players in the educational barnyard would be not at all displeased to see at least some of the pigs turned into pork, if this change of state would improve their own prospects. Among these non-fans of the freedom of the pigs to run the farm as they please are certainly the adult learners (and their employers) who are among the major beneficiaries of online education. I suspect that Noble did not talk to many adult learners, already in the workforce, before he decided that the students were on the side of the professors who are fighting tooth and nail against the introduction of online learning into the mix of offerings of our universities.

While some of the utopian hype surrounding online learning is proving to be nonsense (e.g., the Western Governors' University has not surged ahead as predicted), it is clear that online learning is making steady inroads on the adult education scene. So the choices are not whether or not we will have online learning, but rather how our current institutions will adapt to it, or go into decline because they have failed to adapt to it. Loud squealing about porcine paradise lost, à la Noble and friends, is not necessarily the best way to deal with this latest disruption of the academic status quo. It might be more useful if the professoriate were to pull in its tusks a bit and consider some constructive ways to preserve what is valuable about universities, while at the same time easing their transition into the new era of online education. What follows are some suggestions.

Moving Universities Into the Age of the Internet

There are a number of relatively small-scale, constructive measures that can assist universities in making constructive use of online delivery without losing their essential character as autonomous centres of learning. One is the formation of small-scale "horizontal consortia," in which cognate departments at several universities pool their staff resources in order to deliver a set of partially overlapping programs. Each of these

programs would be centred at and administered from one of the partner institutions. However, each program would share courses with the other programs in the set within the area of overlap, and contribute to a rich pool of electives in their areas of specialization - i.e., outside the area of overlap. (See Archer, 1999, for a discussion of this concept, using as an example a set of graduate programs in Communications.)

Another constructive measure which universities can take is to pilot the use of the new technologies in a small, relatively autonomous unit such as a continuing education department (Archer, Garrison, & Anderson, forthcoming).

These ideas, others presented by Simerly (1999), and still others suggested by the audience will be the subject of discussion during this presentation.

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"SHAPESHIFTING": NEGOTIATING IDENTITY IN FIRST NATIONS ADULT EDUCATION.

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Abstract

Canadian First Nations have been held captive in the clasp of modernity which through negotiation in the modern day treaty process and the facilitation of adult educators promises to turn the clasp into a mutual handshake that will re-enable transformations.

Résumé

Les Peuples Autochtones du Canada ont été jusqu'à ce jour emprisonnés par l'étau du modernisme. Par le biais des négociations des traités actuels, ainsi que grâce à la participation des éducateurs de l'adulte, cet état de fait promet de se transformer d'une emprise étouffante en une poignée de main mutuelle qui se veut le fondement des transformations de demain.

Introduction

"Shapeshifting" finds its mythos in the deep time of indigenous cultures. Such forms of transformation were normative expectations for change among Canadian First Nations traditionally. More recently First Nations people have been held captive in the clasp of modernity without normative expectations. A discourse of racism, laws such as the Indian Act, alienation from traditional resources and little access to new resources has reified First Nations people in the image of the "Indians" of modernity. However, postcolonial forces such as the treaty process in British Columbia in which First Nations are becoming re-oriented to opportunity in the environment and the personal developmental change that accrues has brought a revival of "shapeshifting". The treaty process, working on a "nation to nation" basis and initiatives such as the Interim Measures Agreements (B.C. Liberals, 1999) provide the motivation to again bring out the methods and means of de-colonization through a process of adult education. Adult education becomes a facilitator for negotiating identity via transformation that the First Nations community may meet emerging challenges and opportunities.

Among the challenges to adult education to meet such demands are institutions and communities that are culturally resistant to the subjugated knowledges of First Nations. Adult educational programming becomes a potential site of First Nations identity construction and community articulation. This potential provides the greatest challenge in educational venues such as private educational institutions and possibly university or college settings. As such, the nature of "generative" curriculum as a method in this process needs to be examined.

The Coming of the Transformer

From time immemorial, the People have lived in the land with a philosophy of hisuk-ish-ts'awalk, everything is one. From time to time there are perturbances in this unity that result in change. At one time, a Person, a Quu-aas was intently working on the large mussel shells in the territory of the Nuu-chah-nulth, somewhere on the windward side of the mountains along the westward shores of Vancouver Island, British Columbia. A Quu-aas was sharpening those Clutch-um shells. What fine blades they made these mussel shells were from the outside beaches where the

waves were high and the seas were rough for most of the year. These shells were large, strong and could be sharpened to keen edges, perfect for self-defense. The People tried to push aside the growing swell of fear. They had all heard the Transformer was coming to change them.

The Person, held the blade up, admiring its fine, sharp edge. Ho! I will be ready! Ho! I will be alert and watchful. No one was going to change this Person! As the Person worked intently, a Stranger approached and noticed the industriousness. "Hello, What are you making?" the Stranger said with interest. "Ho, I am making these blades from mussel shells from the outside. They are the finest for making sharp knives. I am going to need these knives to defend myself with when the Transformer comes. I refuse to be changed. I will defend myself from change with these knives I have made." "Oh," said the Stranger. "May I have a look at those *skookum* knives you have created?" "Well, I don't know." said the Person uncertainly. "Oh, I just want to have a look at your handiwork. It must have taken a lot of work to make them so sharp and useful!" said the Stranger. "Well, alright, just for a minute because I might be needing them anytime!" said the Quu-aas. The Stranger took one knife in each hand, held them up and admired them. "Truly, these are magnificent knives. You have out done yourself." The Stranger held the knives in the air and seemed to be handing them back to the Person when suddenly the Stranger held one on either side of that Person's head. "There you go, from now on these knives will truly save you from change/death." The Stranger clapped the knives onto either side of the Person's head and slapping that One on the rump, the Person transformed into Moo-watch, "Deer". Henceforth, Deer and the descendants, Moo-watch-mit use their large ears to listen for danger as self defense. The Transformer had come, transforming the People each according to One's differentiated means of defense. As in the case of the Deer, their weapons of defense were prototypically their main adaptation for survival. Transformation turned the weapons of defense into survival resources. Transformation became the prototype of survivance. Nuu-chah-nulth, as did indigenous people world wide, celebrated survivance through transformation in rich cultural forms. The cultures of the Pacific Northwest Coast were fascinating to Europeans because of the artifacts such as masks, dances, ritual, songs, potlatching, that celebrated a logic of transformation and shapeshifting for survivance.

Captivity of Modernity

About 500 years ago Europeans began to slip into the lifeworlds of First Nations people. For Nuu-chah-nulth this came more recently as by the 1700's, Europeans began to float into the territory, lost, asking for direction, disoriented, *mahmulthni*, people disconnected from any visible land. With these *mahmulthni*, modernity also began to slip into the lifeworlds of First Nations people of the west coast, slowly at first through legislation from far away. Closer, it came, until the territories were alienated through law and encroachment, the children were alienated through the residential school system where the language was beaten out of them, the people were alienated through the process of racism, in this manner the clasp of modernity colonized the land and its people, reified it/them in the stereotypes of modernity: *terra nullius*, "Indian" (Culhane, 1997). The process of modernization served as an attempt to cut First Nations people off from their own cultural processes while precluding their entry into the cultural process of non-native institutions. The multiple and multiplying ruptures of alienation, anomy and asemy (Cornelis,1989) was the growing technical space in which First Nations people became legally caught. First Nations people had not the socio-cultural information to remain self organizing. Not only had the rules changed but also the very context changed in which new rules were emerging.

It was not until this clasp of modernity had begun to shift internationally in the post colonial era of WWII, that the voices of First Nations leadership, stilled with depression, disorganization and alcoholism emerged (Haig-Brown, 1995). The voices began by calling on the government of Canada to fulfill its fiduciary responsibility to provide education, cultural

information for First Nations as a part of the treaties with the Crown of Great Britain (Youngblood Henderson, 1995). The call by First Nations for "Indian Control of Indian Education" was a moral and spiritual stand against the threat of a termination policy, to regain the cultural promise of survivance through transformation.

Re-claiming Transformation

This call for "control" of education was about reclaiming the logic of self organization that was behind the call for "self determination" by First Nations people. In a day and at a time where self organizing systems are scientific buzz words, we may more readily apprehend the nature of the quest by First Nations of the right to their own meaning making, their own self determination.

The call to *conscientization* was a pedagogy of liberation to a people struggling for self determination in a homeland where they were oppressed. Friere (1970) first practiced his ideology from a "within" cultural perspective in his homeland in the context of the need for agrarian reform in the life of his fellow countrymen. However, since then Friere's praxis has been harnessed as a methodology to the liberal democratic goals of "control" in the community development project. Transformations are dependant on re-framed "distortion adjustments" as per Mezirow (Atleo, 1998) in a program of control which may have little to do with self determination or culturally relevant transformation.

For the First Nations community, such re-framing magnifies the contradictions as identified by Haig-Brown (1995) in her study of Adult Education programming in British Columbia. However, somewhere in the contradictions First Nations people were taking control. Her observation was that the contradictions minimally "allow them to name the tension with which they live and acknowledge that the discomfort inherent in this kind of work is an essential aspect of it, not a personal deficiency."(pp. 263-264). Nevertheless, Cornelis (1989) suggests that resolving tensions requires cultural information, for self-steering or as First Nations would say, self determination. Indeed, "naming" or communicating such tension is seen by Cornelis (1989, pp.212-213) as a cultural product in which "natural" systems of feelings and emotions, social systems of rules for human action and technology, and communication that is evaluative contribute to transformation or morphogenesis of the whole organization, the person.

Whereas Haig-Brown (1995) speaks of contradictions, Cornelis (1989) speaks of paradox but both describe the type of tension in which First Nations education takes place. To date First Nations education has been largely catastrophic learning in which insight has been thwarted due to a lack of cultural information about Western perspectives. The asemy, alienation, and anomie (Cornelis, 1989) that has resulted has been the site of the struggled by First Nations and increasingly in partnership with professionals dealing with First Nations education. The lack of insight by First Nations children in education has been attributed to many things over time, such as lack of self esteem, learning style, IQ, hearing loss, cultural discontinuities (Battiste & Barman, 1995). But, Cornelis (1989) maintains that information replaces the concept of the social rule in this current communication society so that insight may be self organized. The hidden logic behind the rules, the assumptions, the hidden curriculum becomes the most important part of the communication because they provide the context for the "rules". The "rules" can then be seen as heuristics for the context. Rules are not enough.

A postmodern curriculum moves beyond rules (Slattery, 1995) into the heart of interaction, into the dialogic and inter-subjectivity (Friere, 1970) where oppression can be liberated. Education as a modernist project (Giroux, 1997) has until recently been about the reproduction of western systems of logic which have changed very slowly. Kuhn (1970) has brought us to a place where we begin to see the changing systems created by the shift in paradigm in science. The consequences of shifts in worldview can indeed produce catastrophic learning when the necessary information is not available, forthcoming, taught, learned, or communicated. In the case of First Nations that would

mean the cultural logics of western perspectives that are used in education as well as the indigenous or traditional knowledges to facilitate insight.

One example of such an approach is the Scientific Panel Report (1995) which was the product of scientists and First Nations elders from Clayoquot Sound who brought together their knowledges as a new way of "seeing" the Sound. A way of seeing that brought scientific knowledge and traditional First Nations knowledge into a co-management framework to permit insight. This process provided protocols to operationalize the innovation as a part of the treaty process in various forms such as the Interim Measures Agreement (IMA) for the Clayoquot Sound. The IMA provides an opportunity to work through this new perspective in a region where both First Nations and non-First Nations people have been economically devastated by the failure of resource industries in the last 10 years. This action brings about partnerships as a means whereby necessary cultural resources can be shared for mutual development of a new order towards more democratic ends in the spirit of Dewey's "cultural instrumentalism" (Eldridge, 1998) with assurance of bi-cultural instrumentality.

The Role of Adult Educators

First Nations adults are entering educational institutions in droves for life skill re-training and education. There is a need for hope in the politics and pedagogy (Giroux, 1997) of First Nations today. It is a time for *conscientization* but it is also a time revealing subjugated knowledges, and thus for "transformative intellectuals can advance both the language of critique and the language of possibility and hope" (Giroux, 1997:105). In the First Nations community this pedagogy of liberation can be delivered with reverence for tradition, respect for personhood, reciprocities that build trust and acceptance, and responsibilities or accountabilities that promotes equalities.

The midwifery role of adult education in the social movement of First Nations emergence and transformation is an important role in the process of democratization and identity stabilization in the face of oppression. Border youth and border adults can participate as validated diversity (Giroux, 1996). A counternarrative of de-colonization (McLaren, 1996) has arisen in the hallways of higher education. Malaspina University College is such a site at which enrolments of First Nations in higher education has risen phenomenally in response to a discourse of e-colonization led by First Nations instructors (Atleo & Atleo, 1997). Adult educators anticipating in the treaty process participate with *conscientization* in the context of democracy and post treaty demands. The first author provides community health worker training for her own tribal council area, using a comparative approach as a means of bringing forward the assumptions underlying the prevailing cultural and technical paradigms with which health workers engage in ways that challenge the normative and encourage critical perspectives.

The technique of a generative curriculum carried out with the methodology of *conscientization* brings forward critical thinking about the world in general and the world of the adult learner in particular. Thus, it behooves the adult educator to understand the fullness of the complexity of First Nations many dimensions of "realities" when embarking on this course. "The" reality to which Friere (1970) alludes is elusive in a postmodern era. And while the outcomes may be less prescriptive vis a vis democratic and personal ends, the process is the more important part of the learning. For indeed the problem of communication as evaluation and transformation can be sorted with Friere's approach but with caution as the subjected knowledges are permitted to resurface to provide a foundation for First Nations identity transformation.

Conclusion

Adult educators have an important role to play in the education of First Nations adults. Adult educators are in a unique position to challenge the cultural barriers of entry into mainstream institutions and possibly to sensitize participants to their own cultural issues. Under current

conditions First Nations adults are being re-socialized in many settings. Adult educators can bring a perspective that makes this process respectful and responsible rather than re-colonizing. The Transformer has come for First Nations and so has the "Reifier" of Modernity. First Nations have known both and are reclaiming their heritage of transformation through the insights of cultural information. Adult educators working with First Nations under these conditions can bring the best of Frierian praxis through a process of accountable practice and attention to the cultural information that is needed for insight rather than thwarting transformation.

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LA PRATIQUE PROFESSIONNELLE ; UNE QUESTION DE SAVOIR OU DE COMPÉTENCE

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Résumé

La pratique peut être comprise comme source et ancrage de nouveaux apprentissages ; l'hypothèse est intéressante et donne lieu à des projets de recherche empirique. Voici deux démarches de recherche qui, pour saisir la relation qu'entretiennent apprentissage et pratique professionnelle, recourent à des notions différentes : le savoir et la compétence. Celles-ci posent la question des termes dans lesquels se formule une problématique : peut-on les concevoir interchangeables ou complémentaires quand ils sont polysémiques et suremployés, associés à un courant de pensée ou à une réforme ?

Professional practice can be understood as source and anchor of new learnings. Empirical researches are founded on this hypothesis. Two such researches use two different notions, knowledge (savoir) and competency, and thus ask the question of the terms in which to formulate a research problem (problématique). Can polysemic and overemployed terms be thought of as interchangeable or complementary ? How do they organize a research ?

Candidats au doctorat en andragogie, nous avons suivi des démarches différentes. L'un, parti à la recherche de la notion de savoir, constate l'impossibilité de repérer dans les banques de données des écrits spécifiques à partir de la notion de savoir liée à celles de formateur et de travailleur. Le mot compétence apparaît systématiquement dans les textes recensés ; le mot savoir renvoie au domaine de la formation scolaire, loin du travail, du travailleur et des logiques de production. L'adoption de la notion de compétence lui permet de s'inscrire dans un champ de recherche sur le poste de travail, le travailleur et le travailleur-formateur.

L'autre éprouve de la difficulté à nommer l'objet de sa recherche à partir d'une préoccupation directement issue de sa pratique professionnelle. Comment se demander dans les règles de l'art ce que l'on apprend quand on apprend à dire son travail ou son expérience professionnelle, en quoi l'exercice constitue une formation et comment on apprend on ce que l'on y apprend. Formuler un problème de recherche exige de penser par-delà le terme de la description naïve pour inscrire son questionnement dans une préoccupation partagée, une problématique, un réseau notionnel, une perspective, une approche.

I Recension

La compétence est une notion retenue à des fins de conception de programmes d'études et de définition des métiers et fonctions de travail. À la rencontre des milieux de l'éducation et du travail, elle constitue un référent obligé et un compromis (Ropé et Tanguy, 1994). Cela constitue sa force et sa faiblesse, dans la mesure où la forme adoptée de son déploiement est conditionnée par les nécessités de son opérationnalisation et de sa reconnaissance dans ces deux milieux. Globale, riche, ouverte et heuristique, lien entre le travail et la formation, la notion de compétence supplante, dans le discours éducatif, celle de savoir qui se déclinait en savoir, savoir-être, savoir-faire et savoir-percevoir (Stroobants, 1993). Elle fixe à l'enseignement et à l'apprentissage des objectifs généraux et globaux qui intègrent les dimensions du savoir, de l'être, du contexte et de l'action (Le Boterf, 1994). Elle est devenue « une de ces notions témoins de notre époque » (Ropé et Tanguy, 1994).

La notion de savoir est difficile parce qu'elle se pose au regard de celle de connaissance. Centrale dans le domaine de l'éducation, elle intéresse la didactique en ce qu'elle renvoie toujours à un ensemble structuré, systématique. Il revient à l'ergonomie de l'activité structurée d'avoir réintroduit la notion de savoir dans l'analyse de l'activité professionnelle. En distinguant la tâche de l'activité, le travail prescrit du travail réel, elle a réaffirmé qu'action et cognition vont de pair, qu'une activité mentale accompagne l'exécution d'une tâche (de Montmollin, 1986). La notion de savoir ouvrier rend compte du rapport qu'entretiennent action et cognition dans l'action. Elle constitue maintenant l'objet de recherches d'autant plus délicates que si son existence est reconnue, le savoir de l'action se dit peu.

À bien y regarder, plusieurs auteurs traitent les savoirs comme des compétences, et inversement. Il est rarement possible de lire chez eux une distinction claire de ces deux concepts. Pour Malglaive (1992), la compétence est un «savoir en usage» ; pour Thierry (1990), elle constitue un «savoir opérationnel validé et exercé». En se montrant aussi avares de définitions, les auteurs s'arrangent pour ne pas trancher entre ces concepts voisins que sont savoirs, connaissances et compétences. Ainsi, Pastré (1992) dira dans un même énoncé que « la majorité des connaissances des opérateurs sont des compétences, c'est-à-dire des savoirs en acte... ». Pour sa part, Toupin (1991) déclare que la seule distinction entre savoirs et connaissances résiderait dans le caractère pragmatique des premiers : ils sont mis en action et cherchent constamment à s'adapter à un environnement changeant.

II État des recherches

Destinée à cerner le savoir de formateur de travailleurs en charge d'apprentis, la première recherche démarre réellement au moment où la notion de compétence permet un ancrage plus solide au monde du travail. En s'appuyant sur une définition minimale de la compétence comme « savoirs en action, la recherche vise à repérer dans les témoignages des compagnons les traces de leurs actions en tant que formateurs. L'analyse des données ainsi recueillies permet l'émergence de nouvelles catégories de compétences. Les catégories initiales, empruntées à Bunk

et Hülshoff, se révèlent insuffisantes et trop imprécises au regard de ce qu'elles doivent présenter. Les dimensions du cadre déclencheur retenu sont reformulées ainsi :

compétence professionnelle	compétence technique
compétence méthodologique	compétence opérationnelle
compétence sociale	compétence relationnelle
compétence personnelle	compétence de symbolisation.

La question du savoir au regard de la compétence n'était pas nécessairement éteinte...

La pratique professionnelle devient l'enjeu de la seconde recherche. Dans un premier temps, la notion de compétence guide la recension des écrits, en raison de sa valeur descriptive, instrumentale et normative. Mais c'est la notion de savoir qui s'avère la plus féconde. Placée sous le parapluie de la difficile question du rapport entre la théorie et la pratique, l'étude de la pratique professionnelle la pose comme articulation entre des savoirs théoriques et des savoirs pratiques ou savoirs de l'action (Barbier, 1996). Consommatrice et productrice de représentations et de savoirs, l'action engage une activité intellectuelle propre dans, sur et à partir d'elle (Malglaive, 1990 ; Schön, 1983, 1987). L'agir professionnel est ici mise en œuvre de savoirs, le travail ainsi que la réflexion sur le travail deviennent formation. Il reste à mettre à l'épreuve de l'opérationnalisation et du terrain, à titre de cadre déclencheur de la recherche, une proposition d'interprétation du savoir en usage.

Ainsi se rejoignent deux démarches de recherche intéressées à l'étude de l'exercice d'un métier ou d'une profession. La mise en forme de ces deux recherches, ce passage de l'intuition à l'inscription dans un champ d'étude, a circulé entre le savoir et la compétence. La constitution de leur problématique a exigé l'adoption d'une notion et le rejet de l'autre.

III Réflexions

À cette étape-ci de nos recherches respectives, en l'état actuel de nos travaux, nous pouvons nous demander si le glissement (inverse) d'une notion à l'autre a été bénéfique, si nos cheminement, en apparence contraires et contradictoires, ne possédaient pas une unité plus profonde.

Du côté de la pratique professionnelle, le passage de la notion de compétence à celle de savoir n'a pas posé problème. Par principe, d'abord : toute notion, quelle qu'elle soit, ne doit-elle pas être définie pour articuler une réflexion et aider à formuler un problème de recherche ? Au regard des faits, ensuite : il n'y a pas d'action réussie sans compétence, comme il n'y en a pas sans savoir pratique. Autrement dit, ce savoir pratique ne constituerait-il pas une compétence construite dans, par et pour l'action ? Ou inversement ? L'éventail des définitions données à ces deux notions donne (presque) toute latitude à leur usagère ...

Par ailleurs, la notion de savoir de la pratique renvoie à la connaissance et à la cognition, tandis que celle de compétence est plus globale. Même si elle est ouverte à toutes les définitions et à tous les contenus, même si elle renvoie nécessairement à l'action, la notion de savoir pratique met délibérément en jeu un travail de la pensée et les objets de ce travail. Ces notions circulent

dans des ordres de préoccupations différents, s'ancrent dans des perspectives différentes, fondent des problématiques différentes. À l'heure actuelle, il est peut-être illusoire ou téméraire de présumer de leur interchangeabilité.

Du côté des travailleurs-formateurs, le glissement de « savoir » à « compétence » a permis de prendre contact avec l'objet de recherche dans sa dimension pragmatique et de plonger au cœur de l'action de formation des compagnons. L'accent mis sur l'action plutôt que sur la dimension cognitive a fait dévier le sens général de la recherche vers une prise en compte de l'univers de formation des compagnons pour tenter de montrer dans quelle complexité s'inscrit cette compétence de formateur.

D'abord définie comme « savoir en action », la compétence permet de saisir le contexte de son déploiement. Plus qu'une « aptitude à faire ou à comprendre quelque chose » (Larousse, 1994), la compétence doit être mise en œuvre, personnelle, contextualisée et intégrative. Elle se présente comme une façade derrière laquelle se cache une complexité agissante, difficile à décrire. Dans le cas des travailleurs-formateurs, les compétences technique et opérationnelle s'inscrivent dans une dimension praxéologique, les compétences relationnelle et de symbolisation dans une dimension plus personnelle.

Ainsi se rejoignent deux réflexions organisées autour de termes que leur ancrage et leur opérationnalisation distinguent mais que rapprochent singulièrement les lectures du réel auxquelles elles peuvent donner lieu.

Conclusion

L'action professionnelle comme formation et acte de formation est au centre de nos recherches et de notre questionnement. Savoir et compétence nous permettent d'articuler des réflexions qui se ressemblent ; nos recherches nous permettent de proposer des définitions de ces termes qui ne les distinguent pas radicalement l'un de l'autre. Nous ne pouvons pas trancher, nous non plus.

Et si cette indécision au regard des mots rendait compte d'une difficulté plus profonde, de l'ordre de l'approche ? Par-delà les termes, ce sont les dimensions pragmatique et cognitive de l'action qui sont en cause, c'est l'opposition entre théorie et pratique qui est interpellée. Nous aimerions que nos travaux participent aux efforts déployés pour concevoir l'action dans sa globalité, fait d'un acteur en situation, non réductible au seul observable et mesurable. Dans cette optique, le caractère général incertain de la différence entre savoir et compétence, caractère à la limite lui-même situé, fait état de la difficulté actuelle de l'entreprise.

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BEGINNING TO UNRAVEL OUR CONCEPTIONS OF REFLECTIVE PRACTICE: REFLECTING ON A DEFINITION OF REFLECTIVE PRACTICE

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Abstract

This paper examines the usage of reflective practice and theories-of-action in professional development and nursing education literatures in order to establish a basis from which to begin to describe the characteristics of a reflective practice.

Résumé

Cet article recense les usages des notions de la "pratique réflexive" et de la "théorie de l'action" que l'on retrouve dans les écrits sur le perfectionnement et la formation du personnel infirmier. Cet exercice représente un point de départ pour un examen éventuel des caractéristiques d'une pratique réflexive.

Introduction

A computer search for the expression "reflective practice" reveals the multitude of ways this term is being used in the professional development and nursing literatures. In fact, there is no one definition with which to begin to examine the meaning of reflective practice for practitioners of professional development. The term has many meanings and is being used to describe a wide variety of different activities. The purpose of this paper is to examine some of the ways in which the term "reflective practice" is being used.

This need to understand the different uses of "reflective practice" in the literature is part of a larger research project that is examining the nature of reflective practice (Schön, 1983, 1987) and theories-of-action (Argyris and Schön, 1974) that enhance or inhibit the professional practice of nurses and nurse managers. Our objectives in that project include: to describe, document and influence the forms of reflection by practitioners, to identify the difficulties in learning from reflection, and to develop ways to increase people's ability to become more effective as reflective practitioners.

Our search for a definition of reflective practice begins with Donald Schön's (1983, 1987) concept of the "reflective practitioner," and is followed by an examination of some of the theorists who seem to be closest to Schön's ideas. Several authors in the nursing literature are examined for the different ways they use the term reflective practice. We will outline how some of the ideas from the "theory of action" approach of Argyris and Schön (1974) can enrich the conceptions both of practice and of learning to become more effective. Finally, we will conclude with our approach to reflective practice and how it guides us in helping nurses to improve their professional practice.

Starting out: Schön's contribution to the concept of the "Reflective Practitioner"

Donald Schön's (1983, 1987) work is considered seminal to the literature on reflection and reflective practice. In fact, Schön's work is so central that it has often become the starting place for those who write about improving professional practice through reflection. Schön developed the concept of the 'reflective practitioner' as a way to describe the artistry of professional practice. When professionals confront a surprise in a situation — an unexpected response — they engage in what Schön calls a process of creating knowledge-in-action using a

method he calls "reflection-in-action." In this process the practitioner first frames — or names — the problem, and then acts to solve that problem. The consequences of these actions are monitored in terms of solving the problem. The professional continues to experiment with different strategies until the problem is resolved or the situation goes away. This epistemology of practice is in sharp contrast to "technical rationality" which suggests that professional practice is the instrumental application of theories to solve problems. Schön's work has become the basis for many of the authors that have begun to look at how professionals can improve their practice through reflection.

The Different Conceptions of Reflective Practice in the Nursing Literature

There are significant differences in the purposes for and the meanings of reflective practice as described in the nursing literature. We have examined two categories of articles: those that look at the definition of reflective practice and critique it, and those that look at the skills required for reflective practice and document interventions designed to help nurses become reflective practitioners.

In the first set of articles, those that define reflective practice and critique it, there appears to be a substantive difference in the ways in which the terminology reflective practice is being defined. Clarke, James and Kelly (1996) attempt to determine the boundaries of reflective practice. They suggest a definition that views reflective practice as mode of operating for professionals. They speculate about what nurses might reflect upon (i.e., technical and practical aspects of practice, social issues, and on the nurse's own knowledge), as well as where that reflection might take place (i.e., before and after an event). Their definition is close to Schön's in that they suggest that reflection-on-action is an important part of learning from experience and that nursing theory can be created through reflection-in-action. They also advocate Van Manen's (1977) position that an important part of reflection takes place before an event. We would call that planning, and see it as one way the reflection on previous actions could be used to inform future actions.

Clarke et al. suggest that there are two types of nursing theory; nursing theory created through reflection-in-action, and theories about nursing. Nursing knowledge, from their view, is both personal and shared. They separate themselves from Schön by promoting reflection before and after practice as well as cautioning that it is perhaps too easy to emphasize the direct analysis of experience as a way of making sense of that experience. They suggest a broader understanding of reflection, which instead of becoming technical problem solving, becomes reflection on reflection, which they suggest as a way of going deeper than reflection on practice.

James and Clarke (1994) conclude that there is little evidence that a reflective practice leads to better practice for nurses. Although, nurses who are reflective practitioners, from their view, are nurses who can operate in the technical, the practical, the moral-ethical, and the personal levels. It is only through reflection in all of these domains that nurses can understand their practice. They hypothesize that structured reflection, in fact, might lead to an inability to act quickly and appropriately in a crisis situation because of the time it takes to reflect. Their view of reflective practice suggests that educators have no control over learning outcomes and this makes reflective practice difficult for nurses (and teachers?), as not all nurses have the skills to reflect in this way. Schön's (1983) suggests that all professionals reflect-in-action, that is the artistry of professional practice. Some practitioners are at the novice stage; some are experts. Surely, the goal of education/educators is to help learners to become more expert in their ability

to reflect-in-action, and to reflect-on-action. Schön's (1983) examples include a range of professions, and do not preclude professions such as nursing.

Jarvis (1991) suggests that the bandwagon nature of the response to Schön has caused the meaning of reflective practice to become too vague. Jarvis (1992, 1999) offers a comprehensive definition of reflective practice — as more than just thoughtful practice. It is the process of turning thoughtful practice into a learning situation and of developing a good theory of practice. A reflective practitioner, in his view, is always trying to ensure that any action is close to what is anticipated by the theory combined with the previous experience. Professionals are using reflective practice to provide a rationale for their practice, although he states that reflective practice has not solved the problem of the relationship between theory and practice. Jarvis questions whether reflective practice can exist in a profession because, as he describes it, reflective practice problematizes situations of professional performance so they can become learning situations. Jarvis argues that what should exist are the structures within which this reflective practice can occur and educators who encourage and understand the relationship between theory and practice, and who can assist practitioners to learn in practice. One of our difficulties with this view is that problems do occur in every professional's practice and will always occur. Reflective practice doesn't create the problematic situations; it should help to resolve them.

The second group, those articles that look at the skills required for reflective practice, provide a view of the ways in which reflective practice is operationalized. Chris Johns (1995) uses Carper's (1978) framework as a model for structured reflection. He suggests that a model will guide the practitioner though a constant process of supervision and dialogue within guided reflection relationships. The intention of reflection-on-experience is to enable practitioners to tell their stories of practice and to identify, confront and resolve the contradictions between their intentions and what they achieve. The purpose is to become more effective and the method is to learn through reflection. We question the extent to which this approach will help learners to recognize ways of thinking (reflecting *in* or *on* practice) that are non-productive.

The articles that document interventions designed to help nurses become reflective practitioners all advocate looking at an experience and doing something with that experience. These studies frequently have practitioners answering a series of questions or being interviewed about their experiences (see Bailey, 1995; Wong, 1997). We question whether looking at an experience in this manner and answering questions is "reflective practice."

Several issues arise when considering the previous views of reflective practice. Is reflection on experience the same as reflection on action? Can you reflect on action without having and reflecting upon your theory of action? Our approach to reflective practice focuses on *how* you look at the experience, and suggests that *what* you must look at is your theories of action. Many of these authors focus most of their attention on reflection, few on action. We believe it is essential to include Argyris and Schön's (1974, 1978) work on theories of action.

It is striking that in most of the literature on reflective practice and learning (especially the nursing literature), there is very little mention of the work of Argyris and Schön. Greenwood (1998) is one of the few exceptions. In her survey of the literature she takes Argyris and Schön's (1974) work as the basis for beginning to look at reflective practice for nurses. Greenwood suggests that double-loop learning is "the aim of all seriously reflective practitioners in nursing." She believes that the way to achieve this is through a "conflation" of the single-loop and double-loop approaches. Single-loop learning, for Greenwood, is the result of instrumental means-end reflection on human action. Double-loop learning is the result of reflection on norms, values and

social relationships which underpin human action. She offers a broad overview of the theorists who are writing about reflective practice, but she fails to offer a comprehensive definition. Although Greenwood includes both Argyris and Schön, her work seems to offer a different perception on the action of reflecting. She assumes a learning orientation to the whole process of reflection. We believe reflection-in-action is a part of all practice in difficult situations, and the learning which results may be either single-loop or double-loop.

Many of the previous theorists write about reflective practice, but they rarely clearly define what it is. However, they do comment about its purpose (Greenwood, 1998; Johns, 1995). Therefore, reflective practice becomes something that we are supposed to do without perhaps an understanding of what its basic nature is. Some major differences exist between the conceptions of reflective practice in nursing and our view. Some of the nursing literature suggests the purpose of reflective practice for nurses is to reflect on critical incidents in order to improve technical competence or skills. Related to Patricia Benner's (1984) examination of the progression from novice to expert, the suggestion is that the way to increase competence is through reflection. We want to offer a more precise definition. In our approach we distinguish between interpersonal and technical competence. Our definition of reflective practice is closer to Argyris and Schön's and is focused on developing interpersonal competencies.

Adding Argyris and Schön to the equation: Theories of Action, Model I and II, and Single and Double-Loop Learning

Argyris and Schön (1974, 1978) have developed the concept of "theories of action" — we design our actions to achieve our intentions and we have theories about how to design these actions. We monitor our actions to determine our effectiveness in achieving our intentions. In other words people do not just act, they also design their actions

Learning, for Argyris and Schön, is the detection and correction of gaps between what you intend and what you produce. They describe two types of learning: *single-loop learning* is changing the action strategies used to achieve your goals; *double-loop learning* is changing the underlying values and criteria by which solutions are assessed. The concept of single and double-loop learning add an important distinction to the types of learning that might follow from reflective practice.

Argyris and Schön (1974) have distinguished two types of theories of action. Espoused theories are those explanations we give to ourselves and to others to account for our behavior. Theories-in-use are the actual theories we follow when we design our actions. They have established a model (Model I) which describes the theories-in-use that most people follow in difficult situations in their practice. This model predicts that people will behave in ways which will limit their effectiveness, as well as their ability to learn to become more effective, and they will be unaware of this. Theories-in-use are characterized in terms of governing values, action strategies, and consequences. Model I governing values include winning, and control, with an action strategy of unilateral control, and consequences such as mistrust, misunderstanding and escalating error. Model II theories-in-use on the other hand, have valid information, free and informed choice, and internal commitment as its governing values and shared control as its action strategy. While most people espouse a commitment to Model II values, an examination of their behavior in difficult situations reveals Model I strategies and values. The goal of the professionals is to monitor and improve their effectiveness. Reasoning and acting in ways which are consistent with Model I values and strategies will not only limit one's ability to be effective in difficult situations, it will also limits one's ability to learn to be more effective.

Our Approach to Reflective Practice

Our fundamental assumptions are that we learn from our experiences and that this learning is a result of reflecting on our practice in those situations that did not turn out as we had intended. Professionals are reflecting-in-action all of the time. In our research we want the nurses to reflect *on* how they were reflecting-*in*-action in order to improve their effectiveness.

In our approach to reflective practice we want nurses to be able to demonstrate double-loop thinking in problematic situations. Like Greenwood (1998), our intent is to examine nurses theories-in-action in those situations. This means identifying the rules the nurse is using and examining them for their counterproductive features. What makes our approach to reflective practice unique is that we have a set of criteria or a template for detecting problematic thinking (i.e., Model I thinking).

To the extent that the nurse's behavior is consistent with Model I, it will limit her ability to do double-loop learning. Our goal is to help the nurses to identify their theories-in-use, to identify the counterproductive features of those theories, and to learn to implement more effective theories. Model I describes a generic set of values and behaviors that will limit a person's ability to double-loop learn in **any** situation, and which will be present in **all** difficult or threatening situations in their practice. Thus, if nurses can learn to reason and act in a Model II way, they should be able to double-loop learn in every situation in their practice.

In conclusion, theoretically, in our approach to reflective practice we are adding Argyris and Schön (1974) to Schön (1983) and highlighting the concepts of Model I and II theories-in-use and single and double-loop learning. Practically, our goal is to help professionals, in this case nurses, to become more effective by becoming reflective practitioners. For us, a reflective practitioner will be able to reflect *on* how they reflect-*in*-action in order to identify the counterproductive features of their theories-in-use. It also means changing these theories-in-use. The focus of our research is the invention and documentation of ways to promote this type of learning from experience — learning to detect and correct the gaps between what they intend and what they produce, and learning how our own counterproductive behaviors limit our learning.

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NOUVEAU RAPPORT SOCIAL AU SAVOIR ET MONDIALISATION EN FORMATION PROFESSIONNELLE DES ADULTES AU QUÉBEC

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Un nouveau modèle de développement émerge au Canada et au Québec depuis le tournant des années 1980. L'instauration d'un mode néolibéral de gestion de la main-d'oeuvre redéfinit un nouveau rapport social au savoir dans la relation formation-emploi qui s'inscrit sous la forme de trois types de clivages socio-éducatifs.

A new model of development has emerged in Canada and Québec since the turn of the 1980s. The introduction of a neo-liberal pattern of manpower management is re-defining a new social relation to knowledge within the training-employment relationship that exists in the form of three types of socio-educational cleavages.

Dans un petit village où il vit depuis 50 ans, un homme fixe son verre sans parler à personne. Il avait commencé comme manoeuvre dans *sa shop* à 17 ans après avoir *lâché* l'école. Il ne revoit guère ses anciens compagnons de travail depuis ce jour de décembre, il y a trois ans, où l'employeur avait mis à pied 600 des 1 000 hommes dans son usine de pâtes et papiers ouverte en 1952. Elle était loin l'époque où il accourait, à la seule vibration du plancher, pour ajuster quelques valves avant que la production n'arrête pour l'avant-midi! La fierté d'être contrôleur des machines pendant 25 ans l'avait quitté, du temps où le carton produit dépendait un peu de son travail.

Quand les savoirs de métiers appris sur le tas disparaissent petit à petit, que faire dans cet univers de cadrans où les chiffres sont des kilomètres à surveiller? Pire encore, que faire quand ces chiffres et les consignes semblent écrits en chinois et que la seule pensée d'un retour sur les bancs d'école donne de l'urticaire! Quand la file des jeunes s'allonge aux portes des employeurs, «le téléphérique de l'emploi» devient vite un mirage à 50 ans lorsqu'on est sous-scolarisé, sous-qualifié et analphabète, avec une expérience de travail impossible à faire reconnaître par l'école et l'entreprise.

Le Québec est traversé par une tendance néolibérale de développement depuis les années 1980 où sont apparus graduellement de nouveaux clivages dans les savoirs, dans l'accès à la formation et dans l'accès à l'emploi en formation professionnelle des adultes (FPA). Dans une perspective d'andragogie sociale, je présenterai brièvement la nature de ce nouveau rapport social au savoir (NRSS) dans le champ de la FPA à l'ère de la mondialisation, point essentiel de mon propos.

Mais auparavant, une esquisse du modèle post-fordiste de développement est faite car le NRSS prend place dans ce cadre structurel qui lui donne sens. Précisons que cette analyse socio-éducative s'appuie indirectement sur les résultats d'une recherche qualitative que j'ai effectuée en 1994 auprès de représentants institutionnels, patronaux, syndicaux et communautaires de la

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[1] Les opinions exprimées ici n'engagent que son auteure et non l'Institut. Je tiens à remercier Émile Ollivier, professeur en Sciences de l'éducation à l'Université de Montréal, pour avoir dirigé mes travaux de recherche d'une main de maître.

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Le modèle post-fordiste de développement au Canada et au Québec

L'espace de la FPA est en pleine ébulation au Québec depuis le tournant des années 1980. La formation de la main-d'oeuvre était un enjeu majeur, lors de la Commission Jean (1981-1982), tiraillée entre *le paradigme-école* défendu par le milieu éducatif et *le paradigme-entreprise* mis de l'avant par les syndicats ouvriers et le patronat québécois (Beaudet, 1994). L'Énoncé de politique sur l'éducation des adultes en 1984 a donné la maîtrise d'oeuvre au ministère voué à l'Emploi . La FPA est un champ social qui a été traversé, et l'est encore, par une restructuration de l'économie canadienne et par un renouvellement des politiques économiques, sociales et éducatives au Canada et au Québec (Conseil des ministres de l'Éducation-Canada, Développement des ressources humaines-Canada et Commission canadienne de l'Unesco, 1997). Esquissons ce cadre structurel où prend place le NRSS, celui du modèle post-fordiste de développement.

Rappelons d'abord que le modèle fordiste a craqué avec la première crise du pétrole en 1973 suivie d'une deuxième en 1975, après la période des *Trente glorieuses* (1945-1975). Il fallait en inventer un autre. Nous vivions alors dans *le modèle maison-auto-frigo-télé* avec la chaîne de montage mécanisée comme figure emblématique d'un *Eldorado* d'après-Guerre sous l'aile d'un État centralisé. Aujourd'hui, le modèle post-fordiste au Canada et au Québec est toujours en émergence, sans être encore figé en dépit de la dominance néolibérale.

Au plan de ses fondements, l'économie ouverte canadienne est basée sur : 1) la mise en valeur des ressources humaines; 2) la valorisation centrale du complexe science-technologie; 3) un système de production/consommation en créneaux-clientèles; 4) l'interventionnisme minimal de l'État sous la forme d'un État-accompagnateur ou catalyseur du développement économique et social; 5) le double paradigme compétition-partenariat comme nouvelle vision idéologique face au télescopage local-mondial (Bélanger et Lévesque, 1991). Nous vivons aujourd'hui dans *le modèle condo-auto-fido-vélo* avec la chaîne de montage robotisée et la carte à puces comme nouvelles figures emblématiques d'une fin de siècle régulée par un État paradoxal.

Au plan de ses pôles de développement, une typologie amenée par Lipietz (1988), le modèle post-fordiste se singularise au Canada et au Québec depuis les années 1980.

Sur le pôle du régime d'accumulation (du capital), la restructuration industrielle des entreprises s'amorce autour de 1985 par une profonde révision du processus de production qui prend quatre voies : 1) l'introduction des nouvelles technologies; 2) l'implantation de nouvelles formes d'organisation du travail; 3) la flexibilisation interne de l'emploi au moyen de contrats, d'intérims et de stages; 4) la flexibilisation externe de la production elle-même par la sous-traitance et la délocalisation (Bélanger et Lévesque, 1992; Grisé, Noël et Guay, 1990; Benko éd. 1990).

Sur le pôle du mode de régulation, la redéfinition de l'État s'enclenche face à la mondialisation de la production et des échanges. De nouvelles politiques économiques garantissent la sécurité d'accès continental avec la création de la zone commerciale Canada/États-Unis/Mexique, tendance à laquelle souscrit le Québec. De nouvelles politiques industrielles et régionales mettent l'accent sur l'exportation dans certains secteurs-cibles (aéronautique, pharmaceutique, modes et textiles, bois d'oeuvre, etc.) et sur la valorisation de la main-d'oeuvre. De nouvelles politiques sociales sont aussi mises en place :

assurance-emploi, aide sociale, transfert social canadien, formation et développement de la main-d'oeuvre. Celles-ci s'appliquent à travers une régionalisation des services publics et une déconcentration administrative, à l'exemple des Sociétés régionales de développement de la main-d'oeuvre comme celle visitée dans ma recherche (Gouvernement du Québec, 1997, 1996; Gouvernement du Canada, 1994; Deblock et Éthier, 1992).

Sur le pôle de la constitution des blocs sociaux, un renouvellement des rapports État-régions-entreprises s'instaure durant la décennie et change la dynamique sociale. Deux voies sont empruntées au Québec. Celle d'une restructuration régionale avec un État-partenaire intégrant le développement industriel, régional et de la main-d'oeuvre, le dynamisme entrepreneurial constituant le fer de lance de ce virage (Bérubé, 1993). La voie aussi d'une nouvelle politique de main-d'oeuvre, couplée à la création en 1992 de la Société québécoise de développement de la main-d'oeuvre pour un nouveau partenariat dans la relation formation-emploi qui soit mieux arrimé au développement régional et de l'emploi.

Sur le pôle du paradigme sociétal, la régulation politique et sociale s'appuie sur un nouveau couple idéologique : partenariat-compétition. Le partenariat devient peu à peu de nature régionale-locale et sectorielle à partir de 1985, succédant au partenariat de nature nationale qui prévalait depuis l'Après-Guerre. Il se présente sous trois formes : un partenariat socio-économique privé des entreprises, un partenariat socio-économique privé/public et un partenariat local-régional de type socio-économique ou socio-politique (Gagnon et Klein éd. 1992).

Actuellement, deux modèles s'affrontent au Québec depuis 1985 : un modèle néolibéral de développement à forte densité techniciste-productiviste et un modèle solidaire de développement à forte intégration économique et sociale (Klein et Lévesque éd. 1995). La dominance du premier comporte des effets pervers. D'une part, l'emploi et la production dorénavant flexibles entraînent la précarisation de l'emploi dont l'accès est rendu difficile. D'autre part, des politiques sociales séparant l'adaptation et l'employabilité de la main-d'oeuvre mènent à la gestion duale et différenciée de celle-ci.

Le nouveau rapport social au savoir : les clivages socio-éducatifs du post-fordisme

Cela nous mène dès lors à l'émergence d'un NRSS qui porte actuellement les stigmates du modèle néolibéral de développement. En effet, la connaissance étant déjà une construction hiérarchisée et inégalitaire (Dandurand et Ollivier, 1991), ce processus de construction s'accentue à travers de nouveaux clivages professionnels et sociaux. Mais pourquoi ? Essentiellement, parce que le NRSS repose sur le fondement de la valorisation centrale du complexe science-technologie, celui-ci étant constitué de savoirs redéfinis sans arrêt grâce à la recherche et développement. Voyons l'importance de ce fondement car il renvoie simultanément à deux pôles du nouveau modèle de développement.

Sur le pôle du régime d'accumulation, le complexe science-technologie joue un rôle de «fer de lance» du processus de production. D'un côté, il tient un rôle interne en raison de son incorporation directe dans les équipements et les modes d'organisation du travail. De l'autre, il joue un rôle externe en favorisant la rapidité de la diffusion technologique des produits et services. Bref, le complexe science-technologie permet une adaptation structurelle et rapide des économies nationales devant les poussées incessantes de la concurrence mondiale.

Sur le pôle du mode de régulation, le complexe science-technologie joue un rôle institutionnel dans la gestion de la main-d'oeuvre. Il sert à codifier les nouvelles règles de production et d'embauche, les normes de compétences et les échelles de rémunération. Bref, le complexe science-technologie soutient la normalisation des compétences exigées de la main-d'oeuvre dans chaque secteur industriel face aux nouveaux standards nationaux et internationaux de production (ex. norme ISO).

Deux conséquences découlent de l'hégémonie du complexe science-technologie dans le processus de construction sociale de la qualification. D'un côté, il vient redéfinir un nouveau rapport salarial en cela que l'État tend à harmoniser ses politiques du travail avec ses politiques sociales et ses politiques éducatives. De l'autre, il accélère l'instauration de cette tendance lourde de la formation continue des adultes à partir du nouveau standard-plancher de l'OCDE face à l'emploi qui est de 16 ans de scolarité, couplés à une formation à vie.

Voilà pourquoi j'affirme l'émergence d'un NRSS qui repose, pour l'essentiel, sur la valorisation centrale du savoir. L'approche néolibérale de développement entraîne toutefois des clivages importants dans la relation formation-emploi car le NRSS est fondé sur une nouvelle hiérarchisation des savoirs, de l'accès à la formation et de l'accès à l'emploi, laquelle est génératrice d'inégalités économiques et sociales dont l'exclusion professionnelle est maintenant l'un des termes. Qu'est-ce que cela veut dire concrètement ?

Premièrement, de *nouveaux clivages dans les savoirs* sont apparus durant la décennie 1980 à travers un virage majeur. Les savoirs traditionnels et pratiques ont été dévalorisés progressivement, tandis que les savoirs scientifiques et techniques ont connu une survalorisation grandissante. Qui ne connaît pas cet homme du début dont la perte d'identité liée au métier n'a pu être remplacée par une nouvelle identité liée à la technique à travers la scolarisation (Dubar, 1991) ? Une double conséquence découle de cette forme de clivages : pression à la qualification et surqualification à l'embauche. Cela signifie, sur le terrain de l'emploi, que la main-d'oeuvre ne voit pas le jour où elle remplira réellement les exigences sans fin des employeurs. L'accent étant mis désormais sur les savoirs produits-diffusés et garantis par l'ordre scolaire (Dandurand et Ollivier, 1991), la valorisation de ce capital symbolique assure la revalorisation du capital financier dans sa phase de redéploiement à l'échelle mondiale.

Deuxièmement, de *nouveaux clivages dans l'accès à la formation* ont aussi pris naissance. La demande globale de formation se présente maintenant selon un triple scénario (d'Iribarne, 1993). Une formation qualifiante s'adresse encore aux élites scolarisées comme avant. Une formation adaptative s'applique de plus en plus à grande échelle pour la main-d'oeuvre moyennement scolarisée. Et une formation d'insertion socio-professionnelle et d'alphabétisation échoue à la main-d'oeuvre sous-scolarisée. Encore ici, deux conséquences découlent de cet accès renouvelé à la formation. Il y a la présence d'un «phénomène de sous-éducation et de sur-éducation» (Levin et Rumberger, 1989 dans Bertrand, 1994) qui côtoie le vecteur de l'exclusion professionnelle via le «carrousel de l'employabilité» pour les chômeurs-es de longue durée (Ciesielski et Laberge, 1993).

Troisièmement, de *nouveaux clivages dans l'accès à l'emploi* accentuent la stratification professionnelle. Des changements dans la structure industrielle ont entraîné en effet, depuis 1980 au Québec, une baisse généralisée des professions manuelles et une hausse des professions intellectuelles. L'accès à l'emploi selon les secteurs, le niveau de scolarité et l'âge de la main-d'oeuvre active montre notamment une tendance lourde au chômage d'exclusion pour la main-d'oeuvre peu scolarisée et de 40

ans et plus. Ces clivages originent d'un double phénomène économique : la déqualification et la précarisation de l'emploi. Quatre conséquences en découlent. Une augmentation de la concurrence intra et inter-professionnelle, une pression généralisée à la baisse sur les conditions de travail et une augmentation de la précarité d'emploi mal rémunéré concomittante au chômage récurrent et au chômage d'exclusion. Enfin, un risque de dérapage non contrôlé vers l'exclusion professionnelle de la main-d'oeuvre en chômage de longue durée qui présente des problèmes d'analphabétisme.

En somme, l'émergence d'un NRSS apparaît en creux dans le modèle post-fordiste de développement au Canada et au Québec. Ces nouveaux clivages socio-éducatifs dévoilent sa véritable nature dans notre société salariale en crise depuis l'effritement du compromis fordiste. Ils sont aussi les marques de la survalorisation du savoir dans nos économies où la production et la diffusion du savoir sont devenues des objets et des enjeux de pouvoir dans la course concurrentielle des nations.

Conclusion

L'émergence d'un NRSS dans la relation formation-emploi pour la région métropolitaine était bel et bien perceptible à la SQDM-Montréal en 1994. Un constat s'est imposé en bout de piste dans cette recherche. Dans le modèle néolibéral de développement, dont la mondialisation est l'une des composantes, la recomposition de la qualification de la main-d'oeuvre en FPA signifie un NRSS où l'exclusion professionnelle est l'un des termes incontournables pour les acteurs de la relation formation-emploi à la SQDM-Montréal.

Néanmoins, deux autres constants s'imposent et ouvrent des perspectives d'avenir. D'une part, il y a la montée de l'acteur communautaire dans cette phase post-fordiste qui augure de changements vis-à-vis l'exclusion professionnelle dans la relation formation-emploi, même s'il existe des risques de sous-traitance ou de secondarisation par les autres acteurs. D'autre part, il y a le rôle majeur d'interface social de l'acteur institutionnel dans le renouvellement des blocs sociaux au moyen du partenariat et, surtout, face à la main-d'oeuvre sous-scolarisée et âgée. Un défi demeure : inscrire cette coopération conflictuelle dans un modèle plus solidaire de développement pour contrer le glissement vers «une société à trois vitesses».

7 mai 1999

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A CRITICAL HISTORY OF NATIONAL ADULT LITERACY POLICY IN TANZANIA AND RECENT CANADIAN PROJECT EXPERIENCE

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A recent Canadian literacy project is discussed in relation to the history and current economic, social and political contexts for adult literacy programs in Tanzania.

Un project de litteracie canadienne recent est discute en relation avec l'histoire et le contexte de l'economie sociale et politique courant, pour les programmes de litteracie por adultes en tanzanie.

On December 9, 1962 the British, east African colony of Tanganyika became the sovereign state of Tanzania following seven years of non-violent, political struggle led by Julius Nyerere, an ex-teacher. Nyerere achieved international recognition for his vision of lifelong education as an essential strategy for achieving long-term national development goals and adult literacy as an instrument for social and economic change. Illiteracy and rural poverty were to be eradicated through investments in formal and non-formal education, integrated rural economic development projects and *Ujaama*, a socialist reorganization of rural villages and their economy. It was anticipated that the population would use its newly acquired education to achieve economic self-reliance and sustain a democratic socialist state. Thirty-five years later adult illiteracy continues to be a major national concern, extensive rural poverty persists and economic self-reliance and socialism have been abandoned as national goals. This paper examines the history of adult literacy work in Tanzania, describes a current Canadian adult literacy pilot project and concludes with an assessment of the national social and economic context for literacy work in Tanzania today.

Nyerere's expectations of the role education was to play in Tanzania's development during the 1960s and 1970s are clearly outlined in a number of government policy papers, articles and public speeches (See for example, Nyerere 1973). Initially national education planning focused on supporting development to build, i) a socialist democracy committed to the eradication of poverty through equitable distribution of the nation's resources; ii) a Tanzanian national identity which would counter the lingering negative social effects of colonialism and achieve racial integration, and iii) an economically and politically self reliant nation. Adult education and literacy programs were regarded as an integral part of the national development effort to raise agricultural production and enhance the capacity of people to contribute to the development of their own communities (Hinzen & Hundsdorfer 1979). Achieving higher levels of critical consciousness as a pre-requisite for meaningful participation in local development was to be achieved through adult education and community development. The National Literacy Centre (NLC) was established in Mwanza and mass literacy campaigns were

implemented with the goal of eradicating illiteracy by 1975 (Republic of Tanzania 1969). The core functional-literacy resource materials were primers, developed by the NLC, on subjects such as growing cotton and maize, cattle rearing, fishing and civic politics. International agencies including the UNDP and UNESCO contributed funds, technical expertise and the concept of functional literacy.

However, the 1970s brought a drop in world commodity prices, a decline in the influence of international socialism, and reductions in western overseas aid and the national budget deficit increased dramatically. Together these changes created conditions which negated any possibility that large investments in public education would quickly contribute to the country's economic development. By the mid 1980s major shifts in economic and education policies were introduced to implement structural adjustment programs demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Greater emphasis was placed on formal education, particularly at the elementary level and adult education and literacy were given a much lower priority (Buchert 1994). In addition responsibility for adult education programs was devolved to the regional and district levels where local taxation was expected to support them. This change greatly diminished the Ministry of Education and Culture's (MEC) capacity to use adult education to achieve national identity, political participation and social equity goals.

To further complicate matters the mass literacy campaigns experienced major difficulties including, among other problems, poorly trained instructors, community resistance arising to social pressure and elements of compulsion to participate, and learner dissatisfaction with the primers. By the late 1980s literacy programs were in decline and by the 1990s with the NLC barely functioning only a few, mostly donor supported, programs were still being conducted. By agreeing to the structural adjustment requirements of the IMF and the lending policies the World Bank, Tanzania has established an economic context which will create and sustain large scale rural adult illiteracy and poverty for the foreseeable future (Denny 1999). Education and health user fees now make elementary and secondary school attendance unaffordable for many rural families. Consequently non-attendance and early withdrawal from school are increasing and will guarantee youth and adult illiteracy continue to increase for the foreseeable future.

In 1995 MEC reviewed its literacy and post literacy programs and made the decision to introduce a new approach called Integrated Community Based Adult Education Expansion (ICBAE). ICBAE was designed to be a "bottom-up" rather than a "top-down" program model, it's administration was to be decentralized and to be successful would need to address a number of pressing problems in the Ministry:

- Inadequate knowledge, within the MEC, of the needs and interests of villagers
- Inadequate knowledge on community based adult education program planning
- Lack of knowledge and skills among local facilitators and literacy trainers
- Increasing illiteracy rates in the target regions
- Lack of resources at NLC to print primers and develop instructional materials
- Low participation rates in literacy and post-literacy development projects
- Lack of MEC resources at national, regional and district levels.

This was the context into which a small three-year, CIDA funded program was introduced by the Saskatchewan Institute for Applied Science and Technology (SIAST) and Cypress Hills Regional College[1]. The project was to pilot test an integrated community based literacy project in two communities - Sembetti on the west side of Lake Victoria and Kishinda on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjiro[2].

During the first year, two facilitators received training at ABE programs in Saskatchewan and the Philippines; technical feasibility visits were made to the two communities; a national steering committee was established with representatives from, among others, the MEC, the Institute of Adult Education, the Department of Adult Education at the University of Dar Es Salaam and the Ministry of Development; and a conceptual plan for the project was outlined. Local MEC staff were trained in the principles of CBAE and new role descriptions were written to guide them in monitoring and administering the project at the regional and district levels. The model of literacy education selected, REFLECT, was developed in 1993 by ACTIONAID, a British NGO, which conducted pilot studies of the methodology in Uganda, Bangladesh and El Salvador (Archer & Cottingham 1996). The name REFLECT was originally an acronym for **Re**generated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques. Today ACTIONAID no longer uses, and requests others not to use, the name REFLECT as an acronym.

The REFLECT approach incorporates the philosophy and critical literacy thought of Freire (Freire 1970) with Participatory Rural Appraisal (Chambers 1992) which is a variant of Participatory Action Research (Hall 1975). Literacy circles of 10 to 20 persons are formed and through a small group facilitation process the participants learn to study their communities and families by constructing maps, matrices, calendars, and other such graphics. There are no literacy primers or printed materials, although the facilitator has a "mother manual" which details how the methodology is to be used (Archer & Cottingham 1996). The graphics are first produced on the ground using available materials such as nuts, corn husks, pebbles and sticks. The participants also draw lines on the ground with sticks, and later may use charcoal on wood, to depict their daily activities and community problems. The graphics are then re-created on cards and large wall posters by the participants themselves. Next the facilitator introduces the alphabet and phonics (where appropriate) to complete the transfer of the graphics into simple text, which is learned as it is generated by the participants during critical analyses of the information created within their group. At this stage the participants require simple writing materials to produce their own personal copy and to practice their newly acquired literacy skills.

The graphics become a permanent record of the participants' analyses and discussions and are used to complete community studies which inform the planning of local economic or community improvement projects. The REFLECT method promotes critical dialogues within communities and maximizes

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[1] A supporting institutional partner seeking experience in international development.

[2] The Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) established a parallel CBAE project in four communities but did not use the REFLECT approach.

participation in the study of community problems and priority setting for development activities. Through the REFLECT approach local knowledge is compiled, validated and made available for use by others.

A small revolving fund was established for each community to enable learning circle participants, together with other more literate villagers, to gain access to capital for small income generating projects. For example, a small group of women from one of the literacy circles decided that they wished to make school uniforms that they would sell to other families. They created a "literacy of sewing circle" and with the assistance of the facilitator found a local tailor willing to teach them garment making. The tailor was paid as an instructor from the ICBAE budget to teach pattern making, materials estimating and machine sewing. A local accountant taught the group basic bookkeeping and business planning. The women applied for a loan to purchase one sewing machine to start their business. After learning from the salesperson how to operate and maintain the machine they co-signed for their loan at an agreed rate of interest and repayment schedule. By using their one machine in shifts they repaid their loan promptly and applied for another to purchase a second machine. Eventually each woman owned her own sewing machine and while they continued to purchase their materials cooperatively and to meet as a social group, each worked at her trade independently. Through a similar process a group of men acquired higher level literacy skills and chose to become furniture makers. One community group established a non-profit community pharmacy with the loan being repaid from a small mark-up on the resale of the drugs and medical supplies.

After three years the project evaluation demonstrated:

- A high rate of retention among learning circle participants
- Participants appreciably improved their levels of functional literacy[3]
- A number of small livelihood and community development projects had been completed successfully
- Participants recommended the activities to others, and additional community requests for learning circles exceeded the capacity of the project to respond
- Initial resistance to CBAE practice within the MEC had declined and support for the model was strong among those district staff responsible for its administration
- Costs per participant were lower than those in the traditional MEC programs.

In 1997 the MEC established CBAE literacy as a ministry program enabling it to be adopted by regions prepared to allocate funds for community literacy work. And in 1998 MEC, with donor funding from the African Development Bank (ADB), introduced the program to approximately 200 additional communities in six regions. Reflection on the design and implementation of the SIAST pilot project supported by an analysis of the history and current contexts for literacy programs now permits the prospects for future literacy work in Tanzania to proceed from a more optimistic perspective. While the macro level goals of the state have shifted from education for social change, political participation and the elimination of

[3] None of the participants had been totally illiterate when they entered their learning circle.

poverty (Human capacity building, 1960s-1970s) to education for economic growth, social stability and capital accumulation (Human capital building, 1980s-1990s) the REFLECT model of literacy can be responsive, depending on choices communities might make, to either of these broad goals being adopted within a region or district's development plan. Although the MEC's priorities have shifted from a strong commitment to adult education in favor of formal vocational and technical education the policy to devolve planning and administration to the district level allows local education planners great flexibility to develop adult education programs that are responsive to community needs. Through the MEC's CBAE program and the REFLECT model communities are able to assess their development priorities and increase their participation in local development. As communities and local institutions of civil society gain strength they may be able to exert greater influence on the allocation of local education and development resources. Further, space is created by devolution for NGOs to re-enter the adult education sector and offer an alternative literacy education, one that would not be provided by government, a more liberatory and human scale development (Max-Neef 1991) oriented literacy.

In conclusion, the SIAST project demonstrates that although the MEC no longer allocates resources for mass, national literacy campaigns it maintains a policy commitment to support programs at lower levels and resources may yet be found from local taxes or international donors. While political, economic and social contexts for literacy work have changed dramatically over the last three generations administrative opportunities for new, community responsive, and likely more effective, models of community based literacy education have been created.

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THE IMPOSSIBLE ISSUE OF PROFESSIONALIZATION FOR ADULT EDUCATORS IN QUEBEC

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Shortly after a province-wide consultation on education in 1996 called *Les États généraux sur l'éducation*, the Quebec Ministry of Education (MEQ) came out with a proposal to formalize the status of thousands of adult educators in Quebec who had received no explicit training in adult education. This move was prompted by a broad outcry coming both from organizations which seek to improve the quality of education (for example the ICÉA[1]) and from adult educators themselves. The move to professionalize the role of adult educators, as the reader may be aware, has been a rather contentious issue among the various groups which have an interest in adult education. On the one hand, the need to protect of the public is seen as a good reason to require some kind of gatekeeping certification process for professional educators. This would entail a set of rules, probably a prescribed university curriculum for aspiring professionals, and a certifying body with the authority to give or withhold permission to exercise the profession. The move towards specialization also aims to ensure professional recognition and improved status for adult educators, which explains why some professionals in the field are in favor of such a change. On the other hand, many adult educators, because they see their roots more in line with the local development of community and civic organizations, which requires a great deal of flexibility and dedication rather than the ability to jump through administrative hoops, see the trend towards professionalization (i.e. the requirement for accreditation/certification) as a threat to the more traditional, grass-roots involvement of adult education. From this point of view, what adult educators need most is *less* regulation, not *more*.

One of the consequences of this two-fold vision of the current needs of the profession is that it has created a kind of deadlock between the Ministry of Education and its 6,000 adult educators spread throughout Quebec's regional French and English school boards. At this time, it is not clear whether we are moving towards greater government regulation with new norms for the certification of adult educators, or whether some other strategy is at play to satisfy either the needs of adult educators and students, or the constraints of a certification process which would be the same (or the equivalent) as the one in place in other sectors in the school system.

Until now, the standard practice in school boards for hiring adult educators had been first to tap into the pool of certified youth sector teachers who worked less than a full course load, and then fill any remaining positions by contracting out to non-certified teachers on a part-time basis (thereby bypassing the regulation that all full-timers be certified). In effect, this ensured that the majority of adult educators in Quebec had received no training in adult education.

One of the first things the government of Quebec did after the nation-wide consultation *Les États généraux*, (whimsically translated «The Estates Generals on Education» by local English newspapers) was to establish that regular teachers at the secondary level – specifically in the youth sector - did not generally possess sufficient mastery of the teaching process - as distinct from the mastery of their own area of academic specialization, which was not subject to much criticism. Interestingly, that observation was not the result of any kind of large scale survey on the quality of methods employed by secondary teachers, or even of a general public upheaval

[1] The Institut canadien d'éducation des adultes is the francophone equivalent of CAAE (Canadian Association of Adult Education).

about the quality of teaching in Quebec. Instead, what was used as the basis for appraising secondary level teachers' «pedagogical competency» was another, quite distinct problem: the fact that Quebec's secondary school system has one of the highest drop-out rates in Canada. In light of this compelling problem, one immediate implication was the need to question the relevance of the curriculum, which the government proceeded to review from top to bottom, generally ending up with a back-to-basics, «no-nonsense» plan designed to redress some of the «liberal excesses» of the last 20 years. (Whatever the reason why «Johnny can't read», in this case *Pierre* would learn to read, and that was that.) However, there was also the perception that overhauling the curriculum would not be sufficient in itself to improve student retention in secondary schools. Teaching skills – i.e. the teachers themselves - were also an important part of the equation, being in direct contact with those students who are «at risk» of abandoning their studies (this group represents in fact the majority of students in Quebec schools).

The problem of ensuring quality training for teachers has been a hot issue in Quebec educational circles since the introduction of university training in the late 60's, after the demise of the previous «écoles normales» (Wagner and Turgeon, 1996). But just what could be done to maximize, and in this case, improve the quality of teaching in Quebec schools? Surely, more university training was not the answer, since secondary teachers in Quebec were already required to complete a specialized 3-year baccalaureate (16 years of schooling) in addition to a one-year program in the teaching arts (for a total of 17 years). Faced with the impracticality of requiring *more* university education, the government decided to require that secondary teachers be trained through a similar process as elementary teachers, i.e. a 4-year baccalaureate in general teaching arts, also loosely covering several academic topics: total 17 years of schooling – but more heavily geared towards relational/ pedagogical abilities, less on content. This was perceived as better training for teachers, because it concentrated on teaching skills, rather than subject matter – and it was more in line with the current training of primary level school teachers. (as everyone knows, students aren't dropping out of the primary level, are they?!) So in a nutshell, university pre-service programs for secondary level teachers in Quebec have been changed in the past couple of years to resemble those of primary level teachers.

What does this have to do with adult education, you might ask?

Well, several things. First, it is difficult to look at the phenomenon of high school attrition without drawing some inferences about the role of the adult education system not only in helping drop-outs drop back-in, but also in inducing them to drop out in the first place. The reason for this is that the parallel system of education at the secondary level, called «adult education», allows any student who is older than the legal mandatory schooling age (16 years old) to join the adult sector where classes are scheduled more loosely and students are expected to study on their own to prepare for national examinations. The method in fact is more akin to programmed instruction than to individualized teaching, but was deemed nevertheless to be in line with the needs of adult learners, at least according to TREAQ, a national grouping of adult education directors (TRÉAQ, 1992). However, the procedure goes against a recommendation from the 1981 *Commission d'études sur la formation des adultes* (CEFA, or *Commission Jean*) which warned that such a system would simply dump onto the adult sector any problems encountered at the regular secondary level, neither resolving the issue of attrition or addressing the needs of the «real» adult population in Quebec. As it turned out, the warning was premonitory: in 1991, 51% of «adult» students were between 16 and 25 years old, 37% lived at home with their parents, and 17% were never out of school for a whole academic term! (Laprise, 1992). Nevertheless, that system is in place now, and combined with the 1988 *Loi sur*

l'instruction publique requiring all school boards to provide adult education services, it has been responsible for a rapidly increasing demand for adult education services. This series of events, in turn, requires a larger number of adult educators to accommodate the growing student population.

Second, by simultaneously holding a new outlook on teacher training and on the provision of adult education services, the MEQ has put adult educators on the spot. When it replaced the 3-year bac. + 1 formula by the 4-year bac. for youth-sector teachers, the intention of the MEQ had been that aspiring teachers acquire their subject matter at the same time as their pedagogical training in order to ensure that they would learn not only their disciplinary content, but simultaneously how to teach it. This was achieved by putting in place new university programs offering a series of yearly internships interspersed throughout the four undergraduate years, replacing the previous single, extensive hands-on *stage*. Another goal was to enable trainees to become competent in more than one subject matter, thereby ensuring a greater flexibility when it came to assigning workloads in individual schools. By offering internships in a co-op style program, and by integrating the study of several subject matter areas, the MEQ hoped to produce a new crop of well trained and multi-skilled teachers. The multiple-subject matter in particular was a new concept for secondary teachers in Quebec. The principle was called *polyvalence*, and eventually came to include another provision, with heavy implications for the adult sector: that some trainees who could not realistically be expected to teach more than one subject (for example ESL[2] teachers) therefore should fulfill the polyvalence requirement by also being trained to teach *in the adult sector*. In fairness, that possibility was also extended to all pre-service trainees, so that they had the choice of training in two or more disciplines or training for service at both levels of the school system. Currently, MEQ is recommending that the *polyvalence* requirement be fulfilled by <u>either</u> mastering two subject areas, <u>or</u> by training to teach at both the youth and the adult sectors.

Third, blending the training process for the youth and adult sector teachers obscures the legitimate needs of adult educators in the system. For example, the demographics of the adult sector teacher population has been used by the government to downplay the need for large-scale training of adult educators. Figure 1 shows the numbers of teachers employed in the adult sector in the province in 1993, by category of qualification and employment status. They show that the «NLQ» category («not legally qualified») represents only about 10% of those currently employed as teachers of adults in the school boards. It also indicates that a mere 472 teachers are currently enrolled in an adult ed teaching certification program by virtue of their status (*autorisation* means they are authorized to teach pending their graduation). Therefore, it has been argued that the need for training adult educators is not particularly pressing.

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[2] English as a Second Language: One reason ESL teachers cannot teach another subject is that they are dispensed with the French Competency requirement. In other words, they may not speak French well enough to teach Geography or History, while nevertheless being excellent English-second-language teachers. This exemption was judged necessary to ensure that good English teachers wouldn't be excluded from the profession because of the language barrier.

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Fig. 1: Distribution by qualification of teaching staff in the adult sector (MEQ 1994).

	E1-2*	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	Total
Brevet	188	1388		371			1947
Permis	0	81	0	182	0	0	698
Autori	3	369	0	100	0	0	472
NLQ	**1**	**43**	**0**	**516**	**0**	**0**	**560**
QNI	99	556	0	1097	0	0	1752
Total	293	2566	0	2570	0	0	5429

*E1-E2: full time; E3: part time contractual; E4: hourly; E6-E7: substitute.

What the figures don't reveal, however, is that among the remaining 4,397 teachers represented in the table, very few are trained as adult educators, since the dominant practice in the past has been to transfer youth sector teachers to the adult sector in order to maximize efficiency. The same is true for the «QNI» population (qualification unknown) which represents teachers who are either part-time or trained in the youth sector, but whose employers failed to respond to the MEQ survey. If we add the numbers in that manner, we could be faced with training needs for adult educators that reach into the 5,000- range, more than ten times the MEQ estimate!

By putting in place the new teacher-training program for primary and secondary level teachers, the MEQ wishes to extend the new philosophy to the adult sector, hoping to resolve the professional issue of teacher training at two separate levels, while retaining a single – although multiple-track – training program. However, there are several problems with that outlook. On the one hand, the typical profile of the adult educator in Quebec has always been a combination of specialized content area knowledge, a loose collection of competencies acquired experientially, and a strong motivation to work with adult learners. Currently, adult educators can receive certification if they hold an undergraduate degree in their area of teaching, have acquired probationary experience, and are completing or have completed a 30 credit university program in adult education. In this manner, their preparation and background almost invariably ensure that they are (1) well-versed content specialists; and (2) dedicated instructors of adults. The proposed MEQ reform would produce teachers with approximately the opposite profile: (1) weak content specialists who (2) have no particular inclination for adult education other than having completed a minimal set of required courses at the undergraduate level (perhaps as few as six to nine credits in total).

According to the group of consulting adult education professionals who were assembled periodically at MEQ headquarters over the past 3 years to review the issue (which included myself), the existing adult educator profile is more in line with the needs of their learners than anything that could be achieved with the implementation of a 4-year baccalaureate. However, many adult educators are not yet certified (i.e. they are either allowed to teach part-time in the adult sector without a teacher's license, or are completing their training with probationary status). If we are to regularize their status by requiring that they undertake some kind of certification/qualification process, probably we could do nothing worse than send them back to university for... 4 years!

The 4-year bac. in effect proposes to replace the current profile of adult educators by another, which would be much less suited for the profession. Typically, adult educators have

come into teaching through a complex combination of life circumstances and interests. They are themselves adults and as such possess a background of life experiences which is more in tune with the role of the adult educator. Compared with the likely profile of a hypothetical graduate of the 4-year bac. in general education, we find that (1) they will be typically between 21 and 24 years old; (2) in their four years, they will have spent less than 1 year studying any single subject matter; and (3) they will probably have been trained as youth sector teachers, with a complementary 6-9 cr. in adult education. Obviously, a much poorer choice than the training received by our current adult educators. Nevertheless, the MEQ is pushing to have the 4-year bac. become the *only* avenue for certification.

The question is, why? Why is the MEQ so keen on implementing the new teacher training program for adult educators, even when the plan is so demonstrably flawed? Part of the answer lies in the positions taken by some of the stakeholders in the decision.

1. The *government's* interest in the matter is straightforward. It considers that the coherence of the teacher-training systems at all levels to be the driving force behind the reform. This means that the push for the professionalization of adult education must eventually yield a training system that resembles as closely as possible the training that teachers receive in the youth sector. In taking that stance, MEQ also ensures that it will receive strategic reinforcement from other stakeholders in the process and respond to the call for better teacher qualifications raised by the *États généraux*.

2. The *school boards*, who are the actual employers of teachers in both the youth and adult sectors have been among the most vocal supporters of the same-training-for-all program proposed by the government. Faced with the headache of re-affecting human resources yearly across various programs according to shifting demand, school boards understandably welcome a move towards increased flexibility that the principle of *polyvalence* allows. With the new program in place, school boards will have the option of assigning at least two subject matters to every teacher, as well as require some of them to teach in both the youth and adult sectors. This reduces considerably the need to juggle numerous teacher competencies to fit the diversity of student needs.

3. Among other actors are the provincial *teachers' unions*. From their point of view, it makes sense to allow teachers to work in multiple environments, because it reduces the need to hire part-time teachers to fill the gaps created by the «specialist» system. In this way, a teacher whose workload has been reduced because of changes in student population will be able to retain full-time status by either teaching a second subject, or by putting in some hours in the adult sector. Since the majority of teachers in Quebec work in the youth sector, the interests of the majority are therefore preserved.

4. *Universities* also gain from the reform by increasing their control over teacher qualification in the province. Under the current regulation, part-time teachers don't need to be certified. With the new requirements, however, we can predict a decrease in numbers of part-time jobs, and a parallel increase in demand for university programs from part-time teachers seeking certification. The only difficulty, from the universities' point of view, is that the new 4-year program for youth-sector certification is already filled with specific required (i.e. mandatory) courses. How can they possibly fit in an additional half-year of training in adult education, while preserving the

programs that were so painstakingly put together to satisfy the new MEQ demands? For this reason, universities have opposed the idea of vertical *polyvalence*, but have yet to come up with an alternative proposal.

The reform may resolve a number of administrative issues such as workload assignment and the appearance of equivalence between youth and adult sector teacher training, but it omits one important group of people: the students themselves, who, lest we forget, are the reason behind the reform in the first place. Theoretically at least, the intent was never aimed at improving administrative expediency, but pedagogical quality. It is not the interests of school boards, teachers' unions, or even government agencies that were targeted by the *États Généraux*, but those of the province's population in general, and of students in particular.

Historically, the development of adult education services in Quebec has been aimed at out-of-school environments such as community groups, employer-sponsored programs, and citizens' advocacy movements. With the progressive involvement of school boards in offering GED-type programs to adults, came the realization that the adult sector had its own legitimate needs and particular modes of operation. This is what has been called the *specificity* of the adult sector, meaning that it would make sense for the adult system *not* to be the mirror image of the youth sector (where there is a 42% drop-out rate, remember?). The recognition of this need is rooted in community and political action since the 1940's, and has been strengthened by policy statements in 1984, 1992, 1994 and 1997. The overall expectation has been that future models of adult education in Quebec acknowledge the diversity of needs and social areas to be addressed. For this to occur, a *non-school* based model was needed. In fact, some interesting initiatives by school boards, such as the CREP (Centre de ressources en éducation populaire) were welcome innovations in the 70's and 80's.

But if we look back at the efforts made to confer some kind of professional legitimacy to adult educators, what we find is not a process to validate activities outside, or at the margins of the school system, but rather the opposite. This is what Wagner and Turgeon (1996) have called the progressive *scolarization* of adult education in Quebec, accompanied by an opposing discourse on *descolarization*. The first model is reminiscent of what is often called «traditional schooling», which requires teachers to be school-based content experts whose activities are limited to sharing or imparting that knowledge almost exclusively in the rarefied atmosphere of a classroom. The second is a progressive model of adult education where teacher-facilitators have acquired a multidisciplinary life experience in various settings, including the workplace and the community, and whose tasks are geared towards the development of an inclusive curriculum and an interdisciplinary approach. The latter is consistent with the historic policy statements by MEQ, CSE[3], TREAQ and others, but is actually in the process of being obscured by the more mundane considerations of human resource placement and CEQ[4] protectionism.

The issue is not a simple one to resolve. By implementing a parallel schooling structure to respond to the needs of adults, the government is trying to respond to a rather candid demand from adult education groups and agencies, but instead seems to have opened an unforeseen can of wriggling invertebrates. First, the notion of what exactly qualifies a student as an «adult» is at the root of a controversy opposing the needs of 16-year-old drop-outs with those of the older (one is tempted to say «real») adult population. Second, the intractable expectation that all teacher training be shaped after the same mold (i.e. youth sector pre-service college) is in direct

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[3] *Conseil supérieur de l'éducation*: A consulting agency whose opinion is sought by MEQ in conformity with its statutory regulations.

[4] CEQ: *Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec* (the province's main teacher's union)

contradiction with the most basic premise of adult education, namely that if it is to exist at all, then it must exist as a specific entity, with its own set of rules and priorities, and *not* as a carbon duplication of the familiar – and failing – youth sector school system. Otherwise, why bother setting up an adult education sector in the first place?

The outcome so far is less than exhilarating. The goal of offering specific training and professional recognition to adult educators, because of opposition from employers and the training providers themselves – the universities – seems to have been put on the back burner indefinitely. As a result, the adult sector jobs are being filled by teachers with no particular training or inclination for working with adult learners. And tragically, the corresponding reduced demand for qualified adult educators has led both Université de Montréal and Université du Québec to close their 30 credit programs in adult education, concentrating instead on the newly refurbished youth-sector 4-year baccalaureates (which do not at this date include any training in adult education). There remains however one glimmer of hope for the quality of adult education programs in Quebec. One of the priorities of MEQ in their quest for the «perfect educator» is the implementation of a continuing education requirement for teachers. This would entail the periodic participation of in-service teachers in various learning activities, perhaps including some kind of specialization in adult education. This does nothing to resolve the issue of the teacher profile produced by the 4-year baccalaureate, but may offer an interesting option to teachers who wish to actualize their affinity for helping adults learn. In this manner, one can at least hope that a process of «natural» selection will eventually enhance the quality of teaching in the adult sector.

Another possibility is that the upcoming regulations on teacher training at the technical-vocational level be somehow linked to adult education. The stated goal in this process is to initiate a rapprochement between the school system and the needs of business organizations in the province (MEQ, 1998). This approach is more in line with the «real-world» approach advocated by many adult educators, and represents a first step towards an inclusive curriculum that takes into account the realities of employment and community organizations, was well as those of adult learners.

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IDENTITIES AND THE CHANGING COMMUNITY COLLEGE LANDSCAPE

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Focusing on adult education classroom experience, I approach my thinking from the perspective of complex curriculum as lived by student and teacher. This paper identifies challenges confronted by adult educators on the shifting landscape of the community college.

En me basant sur l'expérience vécue des adultes en salle de cours, mon approche, en terme de raisonnement, repose sur une perspective multi-dimensionnelle telle que vécue par les étudiants et les enseignants. Cet essai identifie les défis auxquels les enseignants auprès des adultes sont exposés, à la lumière d'un environnement changeant au sein des collèges communautaires.

This paper is a narrative analysis of experiences in adult learning at a community college. Narrative questions about adult education and the theoretical literature are raised in the context of a changing social landscape. My own perplexities about *who I am*, and *who I have become* as an adult educator draw me to this inquiry. The heart of this inquiry concerns a teacher identity grounded in the certainty of feminist, adult learning, and social work principles that have unraveled into self-doubt and uncertainty. Capturing the spirit of the puzzle in my inquiry, is Shulz's (1997) statement that "[t]eaching is a complex activity, and although abundant research has been done to examine the nature of teaching, it is still far from being fully understood. The mystery of what really happens in a classroom, why and how it happens continues to challenge us. Teaching is a uniquely personal and intuitive activity that requires us to focus on its qualitative nature if we are to increase our understanding of it" (p.1).

For this inquiry, the personal and social history of a classroom experience is storied using Connelly and Clandinin's *personal experience methods* (1994). Following Brookfield's (1994) suggestion for a shift to a more "socially embedded and socially constructed phenomenon" away from the almost exclusive dependence on psychological resources in adult education literature, I am using narrative inquiry to study the experience of a community college classroom.

I include a story of a brief encounter with a past student that inspired memories of my earlier teaching practices, and a more recent story of teaching a group work course to college students preparing to work in the helping profession. Both stories are on a continuum in my nineteen-year teaching career, and in my teaching practice in the context of the same community college. The stories raise questions about a teacher's identity and her adoption of adult education and feminist theoretical underpinnings that allege to inform classroom practice and curriculum development. The stories of experience that I include are embedded in a shifting community college landscape that embraces the rhythm and temporal qualities that have shaped an evolving teacher identity.

I believe that the sense of confidence I had in myself as a teacher, evolved out of my beginning teaching years in the early 1980's. This same sense has shifted and I have become a person who at times feels self-doubt, and mistrust in the classroom on the landscape of a large urban community college. While in the actual throes of teaching it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint the underlying tensions I have come to experience in the classroom, and about myself as an educator. *Where do these tensions evolve from, and how do they shape teacher and student identities on the community college landscape? What is the value of my teacher knowledge, if my knowledge is grounded in the experience I grew up in as a teacher, and that experience is now being utilized in a very different environment?* This is my inquiry. The separation I feel from an earlier teacher identity, follows Clandinin and Connelly's notion that what ".... we knew how to do well may no longer make sense for what we were doing it for" (in-press)

In the 1990's, fiscal challenges and technological advances are shaping teaching, learning, and classroom experiences on the community college landscape. The cost cutting measures that have impacted the situation in the community college where I teach include reduced hours in the curriculum and higher numbers of students in the classroom. As faculty we have lived with the threat of losing our program because of the expense of the field placement component. Throughout the history of this program, my teaching colleagues and I fought to safeguard the seminar classes that allowed a conversational approach to the students sharing their field placement experiences. We lost the battle as the number of students in the seminar class increased from 14 to 38. With the struggle to meet with each of my 38 students and their field supervisors individually at diverse agencies across the city, these collaborative conversations have shifted to feel rushed and disjointed.

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The technological innovations that have been introduced into the community college system across the province loom heavily over teachers in their individual classrooms. Duke (1994) suggests the rapid change, and the drive toward increased technology in the classroom, becomes the "testing ground for innovations which then pervade the institution more widely" (p.93). In contrast, I suggest that within the Ontario community college system, and specifically in the institution where I teach, innovations in computer-assisted classroom technology are highly endorsed, with the pressure coming down the conduit from the institution directly into the classroom. Professional development has shifted primarily to computer technology training and skill development for faculty in computer assisted curriculum.

In the past semester I worked with one of my colleagues, and together we implemented the college's computer assisted technology into our individual classroom situations. Through the entire semester, we continually wrestled with the technology and a high level of frustration among the students. The assured technological support for the students and the teachers never came to fruition. The classroom turmoil and student disappointment was a constant distraction.

I have been in the classroom since 1979. In two college situations I worked alongside experienced women teachers who became my mentors and important friends in my life. In 1981 I became a permanent full time teacher. My teaching assignment didn't change much. I simply shifted in classification, and continued the work I was doing teaching and learning with adult men and women in life skills, academic upgrading, vocational planning and job search. I had eighteen teaching hours a week. I was responsible for marketing the program and student intake. My colleagues and I interviewed every student who came through the door of the program.

The story that follows is based on field note and thought about in terms of a puzzle: *Why is this encounter worth thinking about again to the point that I wanted to retell the story to others? What is it that is pulling at me?* These narrative questions helped me to focus on the meaning that specific actions and events in this teaching story hold in my own personal and social history.

On my way to meet with my thesis research participant Lucielle, I passed by a fellow I recognized. He obviously recognized me too because when I turned to glance at him, I saw that he too, was looking over his shoulder. Even though I was rushing to meet my participant, something pulled at me to ask him, "Do we know one another?". The tall lean man, who looked to be around the same age as me, took two strides in my direction. He was pointing his finger as if to jog his memory, and then he firmly said my name. Feeling somewhat relieved that I had not made contact with a 'total' stranger, I breathed a sigh of relief.

Like the other times these sorts of encounters happen in malls, on beaches or in grocery stores, my head often swims with possibilities of events, places, and times the person standing before me fits. The pieces didn't quite fit together until I asked him his name, to which he replied, "Chris". " And your last name?", I asked trying not to sound as if I had allowed his existence to escape entirely from my mind. The name resonates, and my vague memory of him seems to revive itself as he answered my questions. I asked. He answered. And waited. Silence. *This* is how I remembered Chris. I remembered that he attended every class. He seldom spoke. He was quiet and serious. I recall that he at times spoke in a tone that could find its way to my stomach and jab critically.

As the conversation, I thought, was coming to an end, Chris surprised me with, "That was some picnic, eh!" Taken aback, I responded, " oh, what picnic was that?" Again, my memory whirled with images of picnics, places, and people. "At Mable Beach". I did remember, and agreed that the Mable Beach Picnic was indeed a good one. In my mind it was one of best class picnics I had ever attended. I asked him, "When was that?" Responding, he said, " Oh, I don't know... I do know it was the year of the teacher strike". 1984. The first of the two teacher strikes in which I remember humbly walking back and forth on the pavement, wearing a placard blocking the wind, that said," QUALITY EDUCATION." The issues were class size and teacher workload. I was naïve enough at the time, with only three years of permanent full time teaching behind me, to think that these issues did not directly impact me. At that time in my career I felt that there was not enough I could do for my students.

How many picnics have I been to with my students over the years? I've never actually counted, but the number is large. I do recall sometimes not looking forward to taking the time away from the daily rigor of program activities. I

realized however, that going off campus and out of the classroom with our students was integral to knowing them. For many of the students, off campus activities, such as field trips, visits to business and industry environments, and picnics, provided us the opportunity to see their progress and their skills outside of what I perceived to be the comfort and safety of the classroom.

For Chris the picnic was memorable. What meaning did the picnic have for him? Why did he remember? What I remember of the Mable Beach picnic is this. It was a small public beach on a large lake north of the city. The students picked the site and planned the activities for the day. Many of the students knew the park well, and for them I had the sense of their personal histories holding stories that blended with the hospitable texture of the day's picnic. For other students, the ones who lived well south of the lake, prior to the adventure Mable Beach was perhaps, a dot on the map.

As part of the landscape, Mable Lake possesses an energy and excitement that seems to have existed among students and teachers I have worked with in the past. The lake is also a source of loss and sadness because the shifting winds have created turbulence so that even experienced canoeists have lost their lives. In a similar way Mable Lake as part of the landscape shapes the community, a teacher's sense of identity drowns with the wave of institutional tensions, innovative technologies, distance education, and the imposed classroom frameworks.

Chris' words, "that was some picnic" reeled through my head for several days after meeting him in the mall. While writing a description of our brief encounter in a field note I allowed myself to drift back to 1984. Issues of identity surface as a result of the dissonance between the practices of adult education and theoretical literature. Other teachers on the landscape also experience the dissonance, captured in a field note. (Oct. 2, 1998).

> Outside an administrator's office, Sandra and I discussed teaching, class size, and shared our current classroom challenges. Her voice echoed my experience. As we spoke, I felt less alone. Sandra told me that she hates her Thursday teaching day because it begins at two-thirty in the afternoon. She said, "the students have been in classes all day, and twenty-five minutes before the end of the class, they're packing up to leave". With her voice full of feeling she said, "they don't care what I have to say,". Sandra said that she knows a number of teachers who are experiencing "the same kind of thing, and find themselves having to deal with behavioral problems". She said, "I was a high school teacher before I came to teach at a college, and it feels like that experience all over again."

The term 'andragogy' was created to recognize the different teaching methodologies required where adults were taught separately from younger students (Candy, 1991; Knowles, 1980). Unlike the reality of the actual teaching experiences of Sandra and myself, Knowles' andragogical approach *assumes* that a sense of sameness exists among all the learners in the classroom, that all the students are motivated, and willing to take responsibility for their own learning experience. Since students in the community college classroom are diverse, and at all ages and stages of their life, this distinction no longer applies in the strict sense.

Thomas alludes to the confusion within the literature and among adult educators in formal learning situations, when he suggests it is easier to explain adult education to people in business, the military, and the government, than it is to professionals whose lives have been devoted to adult education in the formal sense. The term 'adult education' has been the focus of attention in much of the theoretical literature (Thomas, 1994; Titmus, 1994; UNESCO, 1976) however, it neglects to clarify the dimensions and nature of adult education (Duke, 1994). In narrative inquiry, issues of teacher identity (Clandinin and Connelly, in press) and the teacher's relationship with the theoretical research are interwoven. In a field note, I wrote how a brief and informal teacher conversation, at the photo copier in the teacher work area, breaks through the isolation I often experience from the literature, and, on the actual community college landscape.

My two male colleagues had both been at the college since close to its inception in 1969. One teaches English Literature, and the other teaches a variety of psychology courses. Both have earned doctoral degrees in education. While waiting my turn at the photocopier, their open conversation provided me a glimpse into the classroom experience of these long time educators.

> Mimicking his own behaviour, one teacher demonstrated to the other his use of a frequently used phrase in his classroom, " Hello! You there.... This is not your living room.... Get your feet off of the desk."

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Acknowledging him, the other teacher announced his response to students when they yawn in his class, "You! No Yawning! Next time cover your mouth. You're out of here!"

After the two male teachers departed, the conversation stayed alive in my own thinking, speaking to the general sense of chaos, and the challenges in classroom teaching. Though these challenges paralleled those discussed with Sandra, there were vast differences in how each of us saw ourselves in relationship with the students and the turbulence of the classroom situation.

Among the changes on the landscape of the community college, is a shift in language. Coming down the conduit from the level of policy and administration, is the use of the terms *consumer, customer,* and *client* to replace the terms *student* and *learner*. The interchangeable use of these terms impacts the relationships between faculty, students, and administrators on the landscape. The profession identity of the adult educator is also impacted. On one hand the language shift reflects the reality, in terms of age, culture, class, and the personal context of many of the learners who enter the community college classroom. However, it is important to understand that learner characteristics seem to differ from one college program to another. For example most of the students in the social service worker, early childhood education, gerontology worker, and nursing, are primarily female, younger and entering these programs directly from high school, or after one to two years of work experience.

My 1990's social service worker curriculum must be inclusive of students entering post-secondary education in a linear fashion, straight from high school, and those who are *returning* to a formal learning situation after working in the home, or in the workplace. This inclusive understanding of the learner need also include a group of students who currently represent between seven and nine percent of college enrollment in Ontario (Wilson, 1998), those who are the holders of previously earned university undergraduate degrees.

My thesis participant Lucielle reminded me of our shared classroom experience in group work when she responded to my invitation to be a participant in my research. Lucielle wrote about her shift from the part-time continuing education program, where she worked with learners who were older, to the full time program where she worked alongside students who were primarily younger, coming directly from high school. Lucielle is 31 years old, and a single mother of two children. She completed more than half of her required courses in the full time day program. Resonating with my own puzzle, Lucielle's struggle was evident in one of our conversations, as she said:

> I got angry a lot of the time in the full time course as opposed to the part time course. In the part time there are a lot of women who have been through the same things in their lives too. So when we would open up about stuff like spousal abuse and divorce, I'd feel safer. I'd feel amongst my own. In the full time course, well, ... we're dealing with 18, 21 year olds, and when an 18 year old, or 21 year old tells me that "its okay, that they understand".... No. They don't. They have no idea. They haven't been alive long enough. I know that can be very unfair to them ... and sometimes I feel guilty for saying that, but that is the case. I can't. I do not feel safe talking to a 21 year old who hasn't lived, who hasn't been through it.

Lucielle described her learning experiences in the part-time/continuing education social service program in a way that echoed my earlier experiences when I worked with women who were returning to a formalized learning situation. Lucielle said:

> It was therapeutic. It was *very* therapeutic. I was loving it. Being in a room with women, adults, talking about anything but our kids. And people actually paid attention to what I had to say. .... I loved my classmates. I developed some friendships right from the start when we had our counselling. I could just sink my teeth into those classes. .... It was laid back. Laid back. They were adults. And I keep going back to that. That is very important to me.

In contrast Lucielle described her experience in the group class in the full time program:

> I didn't feel like I belonged. Worse off, I didn't feel that it mattered that I didn't belong. I was lost. It was really difficult. I did not feel safe. There was a lot of participation required, and I honestly I couldn't participate. My participation would have been surface, false or shallow.

Lucielle drew connections between her personal and school life when she told me that she couldn't keep up with the reading, and with all that was going on in her life. She told me about the difficulties she was having with her ex-husband and his visits with her children. For the educator and the student there is a discrepancy between the

theoretical literature and actual classroom practice. As I have pointed out in this paper, many of the assumptions of adult education literature are incongruent with the actual life experiences of the educator and the students in the adult learning classroom on a community college landscape.

Four feminists educators, MacDermid, Jusich, Myers-Wallis, and Pelo (1992), diverse in their ideological approaches to feminism collectively suggest that feminist pedagogy reaches and moves beyond achieving the goals of the traditional model of education. In relating core assumptions of feminism to family life education, the authors assert that,

> "connectedness referring to the connections that many feminists recognize between the "lived" (learner's experience) and the "known" (the "substantive content of education"), to use Mace's terminology. Connections also exist among learners and between learners and educators. We see explicit acknowledgment and sensitive facilitation of all these connections as key elements of our roles as educators. .... When learners feel comfortable with the process of exploring feelings, perceptions, and behaviour, they learn more effectively because they then are able to answer questions they have defined for themselves (Jones, 1986)" (p.32).

Miller (1982) suggests the feminist perspective creates an ebb and flow of expansion, contraction, transformation and regression, allowing for a reconceptualization of the curriculum field. This is not how I experience my classroom yet I call myself a feminist educator. The actual classroom situation that is at the basis of this inquiry raises specific questions about andragogy, feminist pedagogy, and, adult learning and social work principles in the classroom. The following incident provoked narrative questions about adult learning practice and the theoretical literature.

After returning from a 12-month sabbatical, I entered into the group class embracing the principles underlying adult learning, and the ethics and principles in social work. For the classroom situation a feminist pedagogical approach was taken, following Hollingsworth's (1994) notion that "[the] ultimate goal of a feminist agenda is degenderizing of every aspect of social life, so that traditionally genderized values can be claimed by women and men" (p.80). Following the general ethos of classroom practice among adult educators, this course was organized using various forms of group learning (Darkenwald, 1989). The curriculum for this class embodied connection, relationship, and role of affectivity in learning (Tisdell, 1998). Narrative writing (Connelly & Clandinin, 1994) was a central component of the course. Knowles (1980) concept of andragogy was threaded throughout the curriculum, and embraced 'silently' by some of the older students.

The classroom became the "testing ground" in that it consisted of a diverse group of students ranging from 18 to 50 years of age. The educational backgrounds and experiences among the students in the study consisted of three threads: Full time students who planned to complete their program of study in at least two years; accelerated students who held undergraduate degrees and planned to complete their program in one year; and, students transferring from the continuing education stream of study into the full time, day program. The duration of the class was 12 weeks, and consisted of 35 students, 32 women and 3 men In this context, I found myself pining for classroom debates, controversial discussions, and intense dialogue with my students, while I experienced the role of policing the classroom, constantly asking people to refrain from chatting. I heard myself encouraging students to work beyond the minimum requirements.

My earlier teaching experience in the context of a cluster of community-based programs, reveals consequences of using an andragogical approach, group learning, and a feminist perspective, that were both effective and rewarding. In more recent years what I learned about teaching adults no longer brings meaning to the curriculum. My story of teaching in a two year diploma program reveals the consequences of using an andragogical approach, group learning, and a feminist perspective within the context of an institutional landscape that superficially embodies these philosophical perspectives and approaches to learning, but which, on a deeper level, does not. Brookfield (in Darkenwald, 1989) has criticized the assumptions and commonplace practices of group learning and proposes conditions that appeal to a theoretical teaching situation only.

Earlier I asked, *where do these tensions evolve from, and how do they shape teacher and student identities on the community college landscape? What is the value of my teacher knowledge, if my knowledge is grounded in the experience I grew up in as a teacher and that experience is from a very different environment than what I have experienced in the past few years?* The 1984 landscape supported the teaching situation working with Chris who

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intended to use the program offerings in English and math upgrading, vocational decision making, and life skills enhancement. My encounter with Chris reminded me of the work I have done in the past with adult students that has challenged me as a teacher. Working with students like Chris, both in the context of individual, classroom, and group work, presented me with puzzles in my teaching that encouraged me to learn and develop further skills in uncovering some of the resistance many students brought to the classroom. At the same time, Chris was clearly an adult learner. Among his one-word answers and his, sometimes pointed sarcasm, Chris' intentions as a learner were clear.

The time spent in faculty meetings felt focused on our students. The collaborative nature of the faculty group was embedded in a shared understanding of knowing our students. The mysteries of classroom life were discussed and shared among the team, sometimes over communal dinners. Classroom and individual student challenges were faced collaboratively. Each person on the team was valued and supported. Many of the staff meetings felt like professional development, and like peer supervision. We openly shared our personal and professional goals with one another, and drew on one anothers' encouragement and support for our individual achievements. Like my participant Lucielle, I felt "heard" and among my own. The intuitive nature of my personal teaching practice was embraced and encouraged. Many of the students I worked with were deeply troubled, and sometimes troublesome. But I never felt alone. I did not experience the isolation that many teachers speak of until several years later following my shift from teaching in community-based programs to the post-secondary area.

First discovering Connelly and Clandinin's, "narrative" as a phenomena, and then later, working with "narrative" as a research method, I experienced the sense of a personal and professional "home coming". Through narrative I was introduced to Dewey's experience as learning, and Schwab's (in Connelly & Clandinin, 1988) four common places in the curriculum. Connelly and Clandinin's (1988) definition of "curriculum as life experience" fit with how I imagine myself embracing feminism in the classroom. This realization may ease my personal pursuit in the definitions of adult education and the adult learner. I still have many questions about the puzzlement of the community college system. However, I believe that the stories teachers tell about past student and classroom encounters must be told in the context of both the teacher and student's life experience, the nature of the subject material, and the changing landscape of the social world. To embrace the challenges of the shifting community college landscape, community college secret stories must move beyond the walls of the classroom, and into the theoretical adult education literature.

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FEMINIST ADULT EDUCATION: EXPLORATIONS OF THE THIRD SPACE

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Abstract: This panel discussion examines the relationship between feminism(s) and adult education in the hopes of creating a more inclusive discipline. We are exploring that 'third' space occupied by feminism in adult education, neither inside nor outside, but between, on the borders, edges and the gateways.

Cette table ronde discutera de la relation entre le féminisme et l'éducation aux adultes et ce, dans l'optique de créer une discipline davantage inclusive. Nous explorerons "la troisième dimension" occupée par le féminisme en éducation aux adultes; dimension se situant en bordure, en périphérie, et non à l'intérieur ou l'extérieur du champ d'étude.

Introduction:

There are a myriad of different issues that confront women who have chosen to work and study within the academy. This panel presentation will address – from a variety of different vantagepoints – many of these issues, as they are specific to the theory and practice of adult education. What all the panelists hold in common, aside from an abiding commitment to feminism(s), is a desire to explore the 'third' space occupied by feminism in adult education, neither inside nor outside, be between, on the borders, edges and gateways

Patricia: Beyond a Masculinist Normative Model

As is true of most disciplines, much of the recent critical work in adult education has focused on issues of diversity, equity and inclusion, emphasizing the necessity of becoming more sensitive to issues of social difference. The impetus for this preoccupation being that the reality of globalization engenders amongst progressives a need to forge alliances with new social movements both nationally and internationally.

The initial response to charges of exclusion on the part of feminist and non-feminist alike, aside from ignoring the charges completely, has come in the form of attempts to clear the field of obvious errors and distortions by offering, as a corrective, critical treatments of substantive issues. The result is that major distortions are often rectified, but the central frame of the disciplinary approach remains intact. However, deeper analysis reveals that it is the theories of knowledge themselves, including the mechanisms and criteria that have been adopted for evaluating knowledge claims, that are the source of many of the problems. I would argue that much of the mainstream writing in adult education with regard to issues of social difference - anything that does not reflect the knowledge and experiences of white, mostly middle class, males - has been stalled in this initial stage of the critique. This is what I refer to as the 'add on' phase denoting, for example, the practice of simply adding a chapter on women's practices in current editions of adult education textbooks. Despite a general stated commitment to issues of equity, few attempts have been made to examine the epistemological assumptions the lie at the heart of the discipline and are the main architects of its exclusionary practices.

The 'add on' approach is a liberalist move that posits biases as being simply the product of false beliefs and hostile attitudes and can be avoided by stricter adherence to empiricist methodological norms such as objectivity and neutrality. In this way, feminist charges of exclusivity are interpreted as challenging the incompleteness of practice, rather than the way that the discipline has come to know itself and the androcentric nature of the disciplinary self-understanding is left intact.

In this presentation, I argue that the issues are much deeper than liberalist 'add on' approaches assume. The creation of any collective identity, such as that of the adult educator, necessitates a move of exclusion--for all identities are constructed through recourse to processes that involve comparison, marginalization and opposition. A discipline creates within itself an idea of the ideal practitioner via a system of self-representation - involving language and practice - that determines not only what can be said, but also what can't be said about the practice and its practitioners. It follows that inclusivity is not possible as long as the discipline's self-definition is premised on the very exclusion of the peoples that it wishes to bring to the table.

In order to open up the field of adult education to other actors, it is necessary to look at the way that the field has defined itself over the course of its history. Critical questions include: Who is the central subject of adult education discourse?; Which practices and sites of adult education have gained currency within the field?; Who and what is excluded from these definition? My assumption is that women have been systematically excluded from the discourse of adult education because male experiences have been the normative model upon which this discourse is based and that this fact has profoundly effected the historical development of the field. Consequently, in order to be successful, any move towards greater inclusivity must attenuate itself to, and seek to reverse this process of historical exclusion. In other words, it is necessary that we reclaim and rethink our past in order to revision our future(s).

My presentation is an examination of the disciplinary language and practice of adult education, particularly with regards to how women's experiences as educators and learners have been incorporated and represented in historical treatments of Adult Education. I am specifically concerned with whether integration has occurred via a simple act of assimilation - the 'add on' approach - or whether the reclamation of women's history has allowed for a shift in the modes of disciplinary self-knowledge? The latter, I would argue, being necessary for furthering our collective goal of creating a more inclusive and relevant theoretical and practical approach to the field of Adult Education in Canada.

Shahrzad: "Is there sunshine in your life?": The Poetics of Resistance

> *But there is no better point of entry into a critique or a reflection than one's own experience. It is not the end point, but the beginning of an exploration of the relationship between the personal and the social and therefore the political. And this connecting process, which is also a discovery, is the real pedagogical process, the "science" of social science. (Bannerji, 1991,p.67)*

"Chilly climate" was one of the concepts to capture the experience of women in academia in recent years. Women of colour elucidated that "chill" by conceptualizing their experience of marginalization, alienation, and isolation. During the last decade, I joined the struggle for the democratization of academic institutions while teaching and administrating in several Canadian universities. In the discourse of the Canadian state, I fit into the category of the "visible minority" woman. This categorization, public officials argue, confers on women like me certain

'privileges' including benefiting from some of the state initiated policies and legislation such as "Employment Equity." However, my daily experience tells me otherwise; being a minority woman amounts, especially in civil society, to condemnation, not privilege. In the academic environment, my credibility, authority, and objectivity are all under constant scrutiny by students, colleagues, and the university administrative apparatus.

This paper is based on my experience of teaching two courses on feminist-anti-racism education in two Canadian universities. In both courses, teaching/learning was guided by feminist and anti-racist pedagogy, which underlines the unequal exercise of power in race and gender relations. Produced by people of diverse backgrounds and interests, this body of knowledge is, obviously, not homogeneous. Although the trinity of race-gender-class appears in much of the literature, one strong tendency in recent years has been a "retreat from class" and "descent into discourse", identity, language, and desire. While these various theoretical "turns" and twists have broadened our view of the intricacies of gender and race relations, the exclusion of class has, I believe, obscured the ways in which the social and economic formation of capitalism draws the contours of the struggle for power. I contend that a pedagogy that assigns total autonomy to race and gender fails to challenge the status quo. In the absence of class perspectives, race- and gender-centered theories are in a difficult position to advocate non-racist and non-sexist positions.

Conceptualizing and theorizing my practice in the field of gender and race equity in various settings including organizations, classrooms, and communities is a major preoccupation of my academic life. I have found critical theories indispensable in my teaching and research in the area of social justice issues. However, I deal with theory, critical and otherwise, as a contested area of struggle. Theorizing has its own politics, and in recent years we have seen much interest in metatheoretical issues, i.e., examining the nature and state of theories. When I discuss conflicting theoretical positions, I notice that students learn much by reflecting on the politics and theories of knowledge.

The scholarship on the art of teaching argues that our pedagogical strategies privilege "teaching" rather than "learning." There is a preoccupation with what we are teaching or with our own performance; as a result, we pay less attention to the process of learning, the students themselves, and what they bring to the learning effort. It is true that a growing body of knowledge on pedagogy produced by feminists, anti-racist educators and others suggests alternative ways of learning, relating, and knowing. Nevertheless, we have not yet been able to make a radical breakthrough, and I doubt it very much if such a rupture in pedagogy will be forthcoming soon. In order to contextualize my experience, I need to tell you about some of my basic assumptions about our society and our ways of relating with each other.

I believe that we live in a difficult period of time; politically, there is considerable instability, confusion, and disillusion. Economically, the gulf between the rich and the poor is widening. Under the magic of "globalization," we are persuaded to be the passive consumers of capitalism, and to scramble forever shrinking resources. The limited social security that we were promised is also fastly eroding. Socially, too, notions of equality, justice, and freedom are frequently under attack. For example, with the coming into power of the conservative government in our province, Ontario, the employment equity programme was dismantled; "multiculturalism" is being popularized as a myth in writings such as the *Cult of Multiculturalism* by Neil Bissondath; and, more conservative scholarship such as Danish D'Souza's *The End of Racism* is widely disseminated. Furthermore, these controversies, usually confined to the institutions of higher learning, are now being covered more widely, though less

critically, in public spheres such as radio and television talk shows. In other words, it seems there is a widespread tendency to take away the limited ground gained, since the 1960s, in constraining racism, sexism, and class inequality. The opponents of equity and diversity talk the same language in the state, the market and civil society.

As educators and social scientists, we are challenged to account for this situation. Many students, especially women and minorities, come to our classes with questions and, some, in search of definite or clear answers. Though intelligent and conscious, they are often confused by the diversity of positions and the confusing language of the readings. This is also the case with me and many colleagues who do not restrict ourselves to a single theoretical or disciplinary perspective. There is not enough time and resources for catching up with the extensive body of knowledge being produced every day. This creates stress and anxiety, and we rarely address it as a challenge. How often do we say in our classes, for example, that "I am learning about this topic," or "I am a student of this topic," and even "I don't know."

Furthermore, as a result of the fast erosion of our dreams for a just and democratic society, we are all stressed and anxious. Students who enter our classrooms are financially insecure, over-worked, under-paid, and at best bewildered about their future. Teaching in this context inevitably affects the 'community of learning' that I try to establish. And finally, facilitating students' learning about the ways in which power and privilege shape and operate in our lives and what we could do about it is a social responsibility that I have accepted. In other words, teaching for me is more than covering the subject area; it is about change and connectedness, too.

Shauna: Working/Labouring in the Hyphens

Like Shahrzad I have chosen to reflect on my own experiences as a feminist faculty member in an adult education graduate program. My research, currently and in the past, has focused on women's education and learning in relation to work and has been strongly influenced by Dorothy Smith's (1987) arguments for a new sociology *for* women which begins with an exploration of women's everyday world and of its determinations in the larger socio-economic organization to which it is articulated. However, the everyday world, as Smith cautions us, "is not fully understandable within its own scope...its is organized by social relations not fully apparent in it nor contained in it" (p. 92). For this symposium, I have turned my gaze on myself, my own everyday world in an effort to make sense of my role as a 'resisting intellectual', as someone who's desire is to transgress, and yet remain within the hallowed halls of academe. bell hooks captures my struggles well. *"The academy is not paradise. But learning is a place where paradise can be created (1994, p. 207)."*

The contradictory space I experience is the "paradoxical position" of the resisting intellectual, "*...[where] ...intellectuals earn a living within institutions that play a fundamental role in producing the dominant culture (*Giroux, p. 90*)*. Giroux suggests that in order to resist 'academic and political incorporation', resisting intellectuals must ground their practice in the "*discourse of critique and the discourse of possibility*" (p. 90) by recognizing how power operates. Foucault suggests that power has been "*incorporated [in]to the bodies of individuals, to their acts, attitudes and modes of everyday behaviour*" (1980, p. 125). Maher and Tetreault (1997) have suggested that feminists in the academy think about "*pedagogies of positionality*" as ways to reveal "*the complex dynamics of difference and inequality*" (p. 412).

As a recently hired untenured faculty member I face the immediate task of appointment renewal, and in the not-so-distant future, the process of applying for promotion and tenure.

When I consider my location in relation to these activities, I feel relatively power*less*, given my low status within the hierarchy of the academy. Yet, I am power*ful* at other times when I evaluate students, prepare reference letters, and when I find myself translating and interpreting institutional rules and rituals--moments where I am suddenly reminded that I am now 'one of them'. When I find success in securing funding for research projects that connect me to communities I care about, I recognize the resources available to me as a result of my 'insider' status.

I have also experienced power struggles with my colleagues. I recently helped to write a proposal for a project that would bring in curricular resources to address heterosexism and homophobia. My 'straight' location was the focus of much criticism by a lesbian faculty member. I struggled to respond to this challenge because I think that the fight against heterosexism must not be the responsibility only of gay, lesbian and bisexual colleagues. However, I also recognize the dangers of this work when there is a tendency for institutional powers to recognize my efforts, while dismissing those who are silenced and repressed as a result of heteronormativity. As an advisor, I work with gay and lesbian students who appreciate my support and see me as an ally. Here again, I am rewarded (at least from students) for my show of solidarity, but I have far more room to maneuver than other faculty who fear, justly so, discrimination if they came out.

As a white-skinned, English speaking, born-in-Canada, woman of Anglo-Saxon ancestry, I struggle to honor my heritage while also recognizing that my 'success' tells, to a certain extent, a story of privilege. Most of the women and men of color that I work with are graduate students or community activists—there are few racial minorities represented on our faculty. My location as a white insider to their locations as racialized outsiders raises serious challenges to creating relations based on mutuality and reciprocity. Students interested in feminism and other struggles for social justice are grateful that I am in the institution, that I support their interests. At times, however, I feel lacking in resources and *capacity* as I become the witness and audience for their anger, dismay and frustration with the inequalities they experience in the academy. I feel great expectations from students to use my location and relative power to change the system and feel troubled with my limitations and the fears that arise as I contemplate challenging my colleagues (and wonder about my complicity).

I regularly receive advice about limiting the time spent on teaching and working with students, about how I must become more selfish in order to write and publish which are, after all, what the institution values and rewards. This advice reveals a paradox about the institution--one, which continually demands of me the very things that it simultaneously informs me that I must resist. I also struggle to act upon what I know, at least intellectually--that I must resist the socialization of women to be always caring for others and not for ourselves. Another unsteady location I inhabit is when I'm working on community-based projects. Currently I working with several single mothers living in poverty where my institutional struggles pale in comparison to their negotiations within a system where, as one of them so aptly describes it, "all exits are blocked".

Some of my struggles may sound very familiar and may be viewed as simply a stage that all junior faculty members go through as they learn how to cope. But I think my struggles are as much about "regimes of truth" as they are about my need to 'manage' my resources. I don't dismiss the advice I get, but for the most part it does not help me in my dilemma which is to remain on the inside (for all its attendant privileges and resources) while at the same time fight for higher education and other educational contexts as democratic spheres.

Darlene: Developing Environmental Adult Education Through a Feminist Lens

I began to weave environmental issues into my community adult education work, not because I had a strong desire to marginalize myself further in the field of adult education for I knew that simply raising the feminist voice could do that. I did so because I was being taught by people, but particularly women, that environmental issues are an integral part, a continuum of daily life. "*Because of its role in human fulfillment, in the promotion of harmonious coexistence in nature, education must be environmental and just in its essence, spirit and practice* (Marta Benavides, 1992:43)."

It is an indisputable fact that environmental problems are political and their solution will require deep structural, ideological and economic changes. Moreover, any solution must include a change in gender power relations in terms of the "*management, use and ownership of resources*" (Murphy 1997, p.99). For it is the women of the world, as most often the poorest members of society, the haulers of wood and water and the main care-givers in family and community, who suffer most from environmental ills. The environment does not affect people simply at an economical/survival level. It is often something they 'feel' as a cultural, psychological, emotional, and spiritual space. For example, for many aboriginal people the land is spirit and memory, carrying a remembrance across generations and boundaries of time and space (Mohawk 1996, p.11). For many women, it is a source of creativity and song. It was this 'creative' attachment which people had to the rest of nature to which I had to learn to respond. As had been the case with learning to deal with the politics of the environment, I turned to feminist adult education for assistance and creativity. For feminist adult education most effectively weaves the tapestry of politics, creativity, emotion and the body.

Problems such as contaminated drinking water and food, deforestation, chemical toxicity and so on are well-known environmental problems in the world today. They are political problems which stem from what Moema Viezzer (1992, p.4) calls the partners of economic growth, science, technology and patriarchy whose savage capitalistic methods of production and commercialization have brought progressive poisoning of foods by the continued use of toxic agricultural pesticides, and the contamination of oceans due to the exploration of petroleum on the high seas. In addition, Kaplan and Kaplan (1989, p.10) have discovered that a loss of nature calculated in terms of biomass seems to be accompanied by an increase in the rate of violence and other urban problems. Around the world people are actively educating, teaching and organizing around escalating environmental problems. But for many women and men the rest of nature is more than just a political battleground. There is also an emotional, cultural, spiritual and psychological attachment which cannot and should not be underestimated.

The culture-specific perception and interpretation patterns that arise from the human/Earth relation constitute a very important element of people's cultural identity. Often indigenous peoples speak of a powerful and sacred relationship to the land...and feel themselves part of the earth and not owners of it (LEAP/INFORSE 1997:2). For "*indigenous peoples of the Philippines, the idea that there are non-living things is beyond their imagination. Water is alive. Rocks are alive. The sun is alive*" (Guevara, 1995). Moreover, for many coastal people the sea is viewed as an integral part of the cultural folklore, poetry, art and music. When you destroy the sea, you destroy an economic base, but also a culture, spirit and creativity built over hundreds of years (Keough et al, 1995; Guevara, 1995). In Sri Lanka "*a clean and beautiful environment is believed to be both right and a cultural artifact*" (LEAP/Ecologic 1994, p.27). In Fiji the forest meets not just physical needs of women but their "*cultural needs*" as well (Strathy, 1995, p.42).

The interaction and interdependence between human culture, identity and the rest of nature has evolved over thousands of years. Francisco Vio Grossi of Chile observed that in fact, nature's culture "*is so much a part of our culture*" and dis-connecting culture from nature means "*dis-connecting from a sensitivity to things of a different quality and imagination*" (1995, 42-45).

For feminist adult/popular educator Moema Viezzer of Brazil (1992, p.3) focussing on our relationship to the rest of nature is about the "*essence of the sacred, the last possible relationship with the mystery...which expands the boundaries of humanity through the pathways of the uncommon, the imaginary, and desire.*" Culture and nature are not separate but rather are integral, intimate parts of people's embodied lives (Heller ,1998). Schama (1995) argues that the preservation of landscapes comes from a deep deposit of memories about the rest of nature. In my own work, I began to realize that as I focussed solely on questions of need and survival or on the political dimensions of the environment, I failed to recognize the qualitative concerns of people who share desires for a meaningful way of life which includes a relationship with the rest of nature. I felt the need to delve deeper into this spiritual, cultural, emotional and embodied world. In wondering how to fashion my work accordingly, I turned to feminist adult education.

Feminist adult educators began many years ago to explore the importance of using both the body and the emotions in the process of learning. This revolved around the idea of re-valorizing people as emotional beings who live embodied lives and that bodily and emotional wisdom are epistemological foundations of knowledge (Chan Lean Heng, 1996). Heng notes that "*emotions have constituted a very powerful resource for liberation in the women's movement.*" Her work is "*informed by an understanding of the centrality of emotion...and the power of redefining and naming feelings from one's own standpoint*" (p.204). bell hooks (1994) has also noted that education has been ambivalent to the role of the body in learning. She argues that trained in the philosophical context of Western metaphysical dualism, many of us have accepted the notion that there is a split between the body and the mind. Believing this, individuals enter [a learning situation] as though only the mind is present, and not the body (p.191).

Through her work, feminist adult educator Denise Nadeau (1996, p.41) explores "*how to integrate the body more systematically into popular education.*" Her practice communicates how the whole range of human experience and personhood, "*body, mind, spirit and emotion*" has cognitive or epistemological relevance (p,42). It is about honouring this wisdom of the body, locating knowing in the experience of sensation, instead of simply in intellectually elaborated paradigms of thought. Nadeau uses methods such as dance-poem which means "*using both words and movement to share a story*" (ibid.:52). Nadeau suggests that the body is much more than a tool which we must periodically wake up, energize or refuel in the educational process. Rather, it holds some of the keys to both analysis of present circumstances and identification of the future direction women can take.

Summary:

In this symposium we have mapped out several sites of feminist struggle within adult education for the purpose of contributing to a discourse of critique as well as possibility. As feminist educators, our intention for this symposium was to examine the relationship between feminism(s) and adult education in the hopes of creating a more inclusive discipline. We invite others to engage in similar critical analyses of their sites of practice in the field of adult education and to "...create our own dangerous memory" so that our practice is about "...creating the hope that we have yet to realize" (Tierney, 1993, p. 158).

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THE SOUND OF CLASHING CULTURES: COORDINATING EXTERNAL TRAINING IN AN ACADEMIC DEPARTMENT

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This paper describes a recent unsuccessful initiative by a health sciences department at a Canadian university to implement a coordinated approach to external training. A conceptual framework, which examines the conflicting cultures of professionalism and bureaucracy in universities, is used to analyze the outcome of the case.

Cette communication décrit l'échec d'une initiative récente au sein d'un département des sciences de las santé d'une université canadienne, initiative visant à mettre en oeuvre la coordination de las formation externe. À l'aide d'un cadre théorique, nous examinons le choc des cultures professionnelles et bureaucratiques au sein des universités afin d'analyser les résultats découlant de cette initiative.

The primary mission of a university is scholarship, functionally defined as discovering and creating new knowledge and integrating it with other knowledge (i.e., research), and imparting that knowledge, together with other knowledge, to people who need it (i.e., teaching). Any activity that furthers the discovery, creation, integration and dissemination of knowledge is worthy of serious consideration by individual faculty members, their departments and their faculties. External training, which in this case study is defined as non-degree training and educational courses and programs for health care researchers, administrators and selected practitioners, constitutes one such activity.

The discovery and creation of knowledge, and its dissemination is done primarily by academics working in large institutions, usually universities. Like doctors and lawyers working in private practice, academics are able, within the norms of the academic profession, to control the nature and content of their research and teaching. In short, they have a great deal of autonomy. Unlike doctors and lawyers in private practice, academics also rely upon a strong bureaucratic organization, the university, to provide them with many of the tools they require to practice their profession: clients (i.e., students), classrooms, laboratories, libraries, printing facilities, state-of-the-art communications and a readily accessible and inexpensive pool of labour, mostly graduate students, to assist them in their endeavors. As a result, the academic professional, usually called a professor, is able to deploy his knowledge and skills with virtually no overhead cost, while being assured of payment.

Universities, in order to provide support for their professors, have many elements of bureaucratic organizations. They are hierarchical in structure and rely upon formal organization and rules for command and control functions. As a result the university has two different cultures -- bureaucratic and professional. The term "professional bureaucracy" has been coined to describe this organizational

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structure (Mintzberg, 1979). The difference between the two cultures poses a challenge for the professor, who may suddenly find his autonomy challenged by hierarchical decision making and regulation, and the administrator, who is faced with the challenge of ensuring conformity/compliance to bureaucratic goals and norms while enlisting the support of a professional group that is essential to the success of the organization.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss this organizational dilemma with reference to the attempt by one university department to implement a collective approach (a bureaucratic concept) to the planning and delivery of external training activities.

The case

The Department of Health Services Administration and Community Medicine (not its real name) provides graduate level training in health administration and health services research at a major Canadian university. The department is comprised of five separate academic programs, each involving a distinct set of two or more disciplinary affiliations. Faculty members are typically associated with one program, some with two. Primary responsibilities for faculty members consist of research, publication, teaching and graduate student supervision. Participation of faculty in external training or other supplemental activities (e.g., consulting, expert witness) is voluntary, supernumerary, and financially compensated extra to salary.

Historically, the five programs have enjoyed a significant degree of autonomy within broad university guidelines in determining their nature and scope, and graduate student entrance requirements. The role of the department chair, occupied by a faculty member already in the department and rotated every two or three years, was largely to represent the interests of the department in negotiations with the central administration of the university and to attract external resources to the department. External training was not a priority for the department although individual faculty members would generally respond positively to requests to provide instruction when approached by outside agencies or the university's continuing education department.

The appointment of a new chair in 1994 marked a departure from previous practice. For the first time in the department's history, a professional manager was chosen rather than a career academic. The chair was a former CEO of a major urban hospital and a physician specialist. His involvement in teaching and research and the culture of a university prior to coming to the department was limited.

Just prior to the arrival of the new chair, the department and a similar department at another university in the province were approached by the province's Medical Research Foundation (not its real name) to enter into a joint educational venture with the Foundation. The Foundation was interested in training a select group of employees from the regional health authorities in the province to conduct "community health research" for their health authorities. The underlying premise was that through concentrated training sessions taking place over an eight-week period, the basics of community health research could be conveyed to non-experts, who could then conduct field research supported by university resources. The majority of the regional health authorities had contributed resources to support the initiative, with additional funding to come from the Foundation. The role of the two departments was to develop and deliver the educational component and to provide follow up support for up to eighteen months for the participants to complete field-based research projects.

From the outset participating faculty members from the two university departments expressed concern about it's underlying premise -- that competent researchers could be created through such a short exposure to complex research methods. A question was also raised about how individual faculty

members would be reimbursed for time spent responding to telephone calls or more extensive forms of consultation during the eighteen months the participants were doing their research projects. In the opinion of the participating university faculty, while the original project budget provided a *per diem* rate plus expenses for faculty involvement during the eight week training period, the budget did not provide for follow-up support. The attitude of the Foundation was that the project was adequately funded and that faculty members were expected to undertake this type of activity as part of their commitment to the university and the community.

After extensive internal discussion about the issues, neither of which was resolved, faculty members agreed that participation in the venture was necessary. The Foundation played an influential role in the allocation of large amounts of medical research money in the province and it was thought unwise to risk alienating the Foundation by not participating in the project. In addition, the majority of the department's faculty members did not really concern themselves with the issues surrounding the initiative as only a small cadre of them would be directly involved in delivering the training and the follow-up with the student projects.

From the perspective of the new department chair, an important benefit of involvement in this initiative was funding for a new academic administrative position for at least two years. Accordingly, a Director of External Training was appointed with a mandate to coordinate external training activities, including the new training program funded by the Foundation, and to develop new external training initiatives. The director would also serve as a first-point-of-contact for inquiries from outside clients and stakeholders about external training opportunities. All of the new external training activities were to be considered as a means of generating revenues to fund central administrative and faculty enrichment activities in the department. The generation of revenues was considered important because the department ran an annual deficit. However, ongoing external training activities that existed prior to the appointment of the Director of External Training were allowed to continue independently.

These arrangements and the mandate for the Director of External Training were implemented in a top-down fashion by the new chair following discussion with his executive committee. The full department was not consulted although they were, of course, advised of the efforts to coordinate external training through the appointment of the director.

As the formal training phase of the Foundation initiative was wrapping up, the department was approached by a non-profit agency to undertake a Senior Health Executive Training Program for an Asian client. As with the Foundation venture, the role of the department was to develop and deliver the educational product. The role of the non-profit agency was to market the program and recruit senior executives to come to Canada for training. A discussion was held with faculty who would be involved. Since there was an acceptable level of direct compensation for the participating faculty, they were generally in favour of the initiative. However, some faculty expressed the sentiment that, as was the case with the Foundation program, the direct benefits of this new initiative appeared to be accruing to a small group of faculty members. The benefit of these activities to all faculty members was less evident.

The Director of External Training negotiated the contract with the non-profit agency and coordinated the development and implementation of the educational product. The major weakness with the initiative was the lack of effective marketing by the non-profit agency. The program was eventually terminated because there were too few participants.

Important points to note about the two examples are that both projects were initiated through external agencies seeking department support, the incentives for faculty to participate were well defined (*per diems* plus expenses), and the number of faculty involved was relatively small.

Although the training program for the Asian client was not sustainable, the Director of External Training entered into further discussion with the client regarding the department providing the program in Asia, rather than having the participants come to Canada. At the same time two faculty members from the department were having independent discussions with the same client on another initiative. The client naturally asked who was speaking for the department. The Director of External Training felt that he had the mandate to be the spokesperson for the department. The two faculty members felt that the initiative of the Director of External Training was a serious infringement upon their individual autonomy. The professional and bureaucratic cultures were now in conflict. In the end the faltering economy in Southeast Asia prevented the client from following through on either initiative.

In an effort to avoid further confrontations, the Director of External Training surveyed the faculty about external training. The result of this was an extensive list of activities, some of which appeared to be generating revenues after all expenses had been paid. The Director used this as the basis of developing a discussion paper designed to allow faculty to explore the desirability of a coordinated approach to external training. The paper was initially circulated to the department's executive committee for comment. The recommendation from the executive committee was that the matter be placed on the agenda for the department's annual retreat. However, the topic was bumped from the agenda due to more pressing business. As a result, the full department has yet to have a discussion about the potential pros and cons of coordinating external training activities. And, as of this writing those faculty members who wish to participate in external training do so individually and independently, just as they did prior to the arrival of the new chair. The Director of External Training has been assigned other responsibilities.

Discussion

The case demonstrates some of the challenges of mixing bureaucratic (top-down planning and decision making) and professional (non-hierarchical, collegial, consensual) cultures. In a bureaucratic culture planning usually involves some sort of rationale approach. A problem or issue is identified. Goals and objectives are specified. A limited range of options is explored. A decision is made by the chief executive officer or delegated authority on which option best meets the established goals and objectives. The solution is then implemented and evaluated. The decision-making process tends to be hierarchical, centralized, formalized and rule bound. In the professional organization, the decision making process tends not to be hierarchical, is decentralized and is usually less formalized or rule bound. Policy decisions are generally reached by consensus, usually after extensive collegial debate.

Despite the potential to learn from these early experiences, the department has yet to develop a consensus around the coordination of external training activities. Nor has it identified potential product lines, conducted systematic market research and used this information as the basis for developing a comprehensive organizational strategy, all of which are necessary to successfully offer external training programs (Foth, 1999). Individual faculty members continue to develop initiatives that are done primarily for organizations other than the department. The benefit to the department of these latter activities, which bring neither enhanced public profile nor much-needed additional infrastructure resources, is highly questionable. Both the recognition and resources flow to the other organizations and directly to individual faculty members.

Is it possible for the department to coordinate its external training activities, to actually develop a systematic plan and generate revenues to support other endeavors of the department? The probability that such might happen would seem to be contingent upon the department's academics sitting down together to have a collegial discussion about priorities related to external training. Within the

academic profession this appears to be the only means of persuading colleagues through rational argument, building consensus and legitimizing decision making (Mintzberg, 1994). Without this process it appears that the structure and incentives of the professional organization make it almost impossible for managers to coordinate the activities of the individual professional. While they can lead the academic horse to water, they cannot make it drink.

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LOST IN SPACE? REINVENTING OURSELVES AS LEARNERS ON THE NEW FRONTIER

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Cet article explore, de façon théorique, les dimensions de frontières et d'identité dans l'espace d'apprentissage virtuel. Il servira de tremplin pour la recherche continue dans ce domaine et fournira un schème d'étude des perceptions de l'identité par les apprenants dans cet environnement d'apprentissage.

This paper explores, theoretically, the dimensions of boundary and identity that address the new frontier of virtual learning space. It is intended to serve as a springboard to continuing research in this area and to provide a framework in which to study learners' perceptions of their identity issues in such learning environments.

Introduction

If you build it, they will come. Since the Internet was "built," learners have indeed come, and in various ways – synchronously, asynchronously, eagerly, frightened-to-death – to learn, not at its feet, in the traditional ways associated with gurus and structures and the holding of knowledge, like a torch, to be passed on with reverence amid hierarchy and hoops, but in new ways that beg for apt similes: like flies to flypaper? Like ships passing in the night? Like moths to flames?

As astronauts who are learning to live and travel in space experience a vast frontier that requires the re-establishing of boundaries and the re-learning of old skills, so too do virtual learning pioneers confront questions of identity and self, the touchstones of which, in the teaching-learning enterprise, once described by entities such as *teacher, classroom, colleagues, institution, books, coffee break,* are now strangely dissolved. Their new fluidity manifests itself in further issues of power and control and responsibility.

This paper will explore theoretically the dimensions of boundary and identity that address the new frontier of virtual learning space. My intention is to serve as a springboard to continuing research in this area and to framework a study of learners' perceptions of their identity issues in such learning environments. I recognize and build on the paradox that underscores perhaps a "fourth-generation" of distributed, technologically-enhanced

learning where tensions exist between independence and collaboration, freedom and constraint, familiarity and alienation.

Is the emperor indeed clothed?

Perhaps the starting place for this discussion should be the establishment of a hypothesis around whether or not the current state of on-line learning via the Internet constitutes a discernible difference in type – quality or quantity – from previous generations of distance learning ventures. My premise is that it does. Historically, distance education is as old as the hills: the historical lyceums in the colonial United States encouraged learning by correspondence, as did the later Chautauquas that moved, circus-like, into Canada as recently as during the Depression years (Axford, 1980). "Second-generation" distance learning permitted two-way interaction among learners and instructor, either orally, in the case of audioconferencing, or visually as well, as in satellite broadcasting or videoconferencing. "Third-generation" distance education, computer-mediated communication, enabled users to transmit and store information synchronously and asynchronously, creating an enormously powerful medium that was heralded years ago as offering a "qualitatively" different type of communications media (Kaufman, in Garrison, 1989).

How has the Internet changed the nature of computer communication? Ironically, by permitting the realization of a condition that was articulated by Knowles (1980) when he envisioned "the unity of education, work and life, based on the notion that learning is most effective when it is related to and integrated with working and living" (p. 40). But, according to Turkle (1995), a distinctly new reality-phenomenon has developed since our use of the computer has evolved from giving commands to a machine to entering into a dialogue with another world made accessible by that machine.

New windows, new vistas

"RL is just one more window, and it's usually not my best one" (Turkle, p 13). Here, RL refers to real life, and the college student quoted in Turkle's *Life on the Screen* (1995) illustrates her focus on the use of MUDs (multi-user domains) and interaction with Internet technology to discuss the issue of user identity in a capacity previously unknown to us. To a generation of computer users such as the student quoted above, "the integration of living and learning . . . dependent upon the reduction of time and location barriers" (Garrison, p. 107) has been achieved, in fact achieved to such a degree so as to blur the edges of a previously tidier reality.

Turkle's articulation of the postmodern sensibility that underpins this phenomenon provides a new lens through which to consider the creation of learner identity. Reflecting on the ability of a user to be many things, none of them necessarily the 'real' thing, leads Turkle to observe the fragmented condition of our modern lives and find postmodern resonance in the lack of contiguity that in fact seems to provide much of the inspiration for MUD participants. The suspension of visible or traceable realities, identities, and forms also creates forums for the existence of "multiplicitous beings" where the self is

able to "spin off into many directions" (p. 258), and Turkle fastens this sense of identity to acts as mundane as our creation of homepages – multi-disciplinary amalgams of all sorts of things: past and present, image and sound, real and fictitious, text and graphic, a potpourri of sensations made even larger by its ability to link endlessly to other sites.

Carrying the notion of "multiplicitous beings" over into educational realms raises questions that impinge on previously understood models of independence, responsibility and control through which educators have conceptualized the dynamic of distance learning (Garrison, 1989). New program delivery models that integrate networks of technologies begin to shift the locus of control from instructor/learner to learner/learner and even to learner/content, supporting constructivist views that see knowledge and meaning as mutually generated. Such models also assume that new levels of learner responsibility inform successful learning transactions (Anderson & Garrison, 1998).

If Turkle has opened windows on the computer's abilities to provide new horizons against which to view learning and the creation of identity, Wenger's concept of communities of practice, located inside the construction of his social learning theory, provides an encompassing framework for the consideration of learner identity. Looking at the totality of learning – learning as entity – Wenger presents four components which, taken together, describe "social participation as a process of learning and of knowing" (pp. 4-5). In so doing, he points out that the four components he identifies – meaning (learning as experience), practice (learning as doing), community (learning as belonging) and identity (learning as becoming) – are so interconnected that any one of them could be interchanged with the central notion of "learning" and the concept still would hold. Starting to talk about communities of practice, as he does in his recent book of the same name, simply provides an entry point into this extremely thickly interwoven dynamic. The interest of this paper, therefore – identity – while not able to be cleanly nor rationally separated from meaning, practice, and community, can be proclaimed "centre stage," while its colleagues are assigned lesser-but-still-important supporting roles in the discussion that follows.

Wenger's learning theory speaks well to the notion of distance learning generally and perhaps especially well to the "fourth-generation" phenomenon of on-line learning which distinguishes itself from our initial foray into computer-mediated communications, labelled "third-generation" and described in technological terms as "audio/video/ alphanumeric" (Garrison, 1989).[1] Today's postmodern, constructivist on-line sensibility

[1]The differences are both qualitative and quantitative. Simply put, there are *more* opportunities to interact at a distance with greater numbers of people. The number of ways that we can be on-line either in learning scenarios or in commercial ventures or in personal exchanges lessens our reticence in undertaking such efforts. The nature of interactions differs as well. Visually, on-line interfaces are more attractive than were the media that hosted more primitive computer-mediated communications. We engage faster, easier, with choices of fonts and colours and the ability to include or exchange graphics. As we more frequently engage in these types of communications, we accept the increased levels of expectation that familiarity brings. We publish in on-line journals, participate in on-line conferences, and purchase goods using electronic commerce. We date and find partners; we are our own Internet travel agents; we peruse libraries and university calendars on-line, register for courses, reserve books, buy movie tickets.

is as obvious as the differences between the passivity of early television viewers and the passion of interactive MUDders (Nostbakken, 1980; Turkle, 1995).

The existence of the Internet's global communication capacity and its instant linkage to whatever on-line capability we access, be it educational or otherwise, qualitatively alters our sense of place in the communication model. CMC once offered us only a threaded connection to a single person or to a group, but we know now that our space is unlimited and unconfined, that we can leap backwards and forwards through time via websites, that our discourses with others are captured and held for indeterminate amounts of time, that we can export our discussions outwards to numerous other groups, and that we can import information, graphics, or live conversation from any number of sources.

The integration of life and work and personhood, once envisioned by Knowles, is now alive and well and at work in on-line learning environments. It is aptly supported by Wenger's model of communities of practice. His understanding of learning "as an integral part of our everyday lives" (p. 8) includes our personal lives, the lives of our families, our professional lives, our community lives, our experiential lives. For Turkle, learning also looks through the various windows of our "real lives," however we may construe them. The formulation, therefore, of learners' sense of identity in the vastness of virtual learning spaces invites us to consider new networks of complexity that reframe the relationship of *here* to *there*, of *me* to *you*, indeed, of *me* to *me*.

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CIVIL SOCIETY, CULTURAL HEGEMONY AND CITIZENSHIP: IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATORS

**Pat Durish, Rachel Gorman, Shahrzad Mojab,
Amish Morrell, Daniel Schugurensky, Deborah Sword**

Abstract

Les textes dans cette conférence explorent les aspects variés des concepts de citoyenneté, du société civile et les dynamiques culturels du change sociale. Les auteurs retirent des exemples du Moyen Est, et du Latin et de l'Amérique du Nord et engagent des paradigmes critiques incluant le Marxisme, des études culturels et des discours contemporaines a propos la société civile.

The papers in this symposium explore various aspects of the concepts of citizenship, civil society and the cultural dynamics of social change. Authors draw from examples from the Middle East, and from Latin and North America and engage critical paradigms including Marxism, cultural studies, and contemporary discourse on civil society.

In the last decade, we have witnessed the return of the nineteenth century concept of civil society. However, there is no consensus its meaning, even amongst those who find it an indispensable heuristic device. The concept is of particular interest to educators, who have been debating for a long time the relationship between education and society, education and the state, the role of education in the (re)production of citizenry, and the dialectics of hegemony and resistance. In sharp contrast to many liberal and neo-conservative theorists, who equate democracy with private enterprise, radical theorists often see in the rise of the market the weakening of civil society. They look at 'social movements' as a force capable of democratizing education and society by challenging the hegemony of both the state and the market.

The contributors to this panel draw from different examples to explore some of the challenges faced by adult educators as we enter the 21st century. They consider how different forms of citizenship are constituted, offer alternative models for civic participation and political protest, and explore how our access to civil society is affected by a myriad of social, political, economic and cultural forces.

Civil Society as Slogan, Magic, and Shining Emblem: The Politics of Adult Education in the Middle East

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The growing body of research on civil society in the Middle East emphasizes the absence or weakness of "civil society." The "modern" nation-states of the region, formed in the wake of World War I, continue to be, like their predecessors, absolutist political systems. Most observers agree that the state stifles "civil society" throughout the region. The relationship between the two formations -- the state and civil society -- is often antagonistic. This conflictual relationship is prominently expressed in the ongoing revolutions, coups d'etat, and civil wars of the latter part of the twentieth century. In this paper, I intend to visit the state of adult education in the Middle East, especially its Arab region, and examine adult education as a site of struggle for power involving numerous and highly unequal actors.

Middle Eastern societies are experiencing rapid transformation due to both internal developments and the globalization of economy and culture. The process of change is, however, riddled with contradictions; we see abject poverty in the midst of wealth, despotism in a growing civil society, tribal-nomadic relations in a region devastated by rising megacities, and massive labour movements in the context of disintegrating economies. Formal education is usually a state monopoly, and adult education has, in most countries, been reduced to literacy campaigns. In spite of considerable investment in formal and informal education, the majority of the adult population remains illiterate. Patriarchy, poverty, militarization, insufficient investment, and the absence of individual and political freedom are some of the main constraints on the provision of lifelong education. This paper argues that the promotion of adult education based on democratic ideals (such as the Hamburg Declaration on Adult Education) would presuppose a radical transformation of the political order of the Middle East.

The Shift from Education to Training and the Shrinking Space for Citizenship

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Within the debate about the existence and role of civil society little attention has been paid to the ways in which adult educators are confined by state and market structures. Can adult educators retain their ability to engage in critical education in a world where the space for democracy and participation is shrinking? If we look at current barriers in developmental services and disability rights movements, we get an indication of the constraints to adult education, both in state funded programming, and in community-based advocacy.

Barriers to citizenship for disabled people exist on many levels, including legal, political, educational (through segregation and streaming), community participation, and employment. Government funding for support services is channeled through agencies or family members, who have most of the power in deciding how it will be spent, and how individual's lives will be organized.

In recent years, government policy has made a sharp turn toward eliminating social programmes, and privatizing services. Increased cuts in funding to agencies have translated into fewer support staff and less advocacy. Agencies no longer pay support workers to fight for jobs in the community, and instead hang on to piecework contracts from for-profit companies. The market looms behind these changes in government policy. Some of the largest funders of the Conservative Party's election campaign were for-profit health care agencies, who are poised to begin staffing and running sheltered workshops and group homes for a profit.

The Ministry of Training and Human Resources and the Ministry of Community and Social Services are putting much effort into convincing adult educators in all sectors to prepare their students/clients for the "inevitable" global political economy. Adult educators and trainers are being deployed by government and corporations to train the workforce and the reserve workforce to suit the rapidly changing needs of the global market. More importantly, we are asked to convince our students/clients that chronic underemployment and constant retraining are unavoidable aspects of our technologically advanced world. Reclaiming our educational spaces will require a coordinated struggle to reverse government policy changes, to strengthen the educational mandates of our agencies, and to resist and undermine the corporate takeover of minds.

Immigration and Nationalism in Canada: Issues for Citizenship Education

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The Canadian federal government has just announced that they are preparing to admit 5,000 refugees from Kosovo. The conflict in Kosovo is only the most recent in a swell of violent conflicts that have been rocking the globe in the past decade. The destabilizing effects of

globalization and corporatization -- and the conflicts that these processes engender -- have resulted in rapidly increasing rates of migration. At the same time, Western countries, the primary authors of this plan of global restructuring, are tightening immigration policies and xenophobia is on the rise. This seems like a particularly opportune moment for us, as Canadians, to engage with issues of citizenship and citizenship education within the context of Canadian nationalism.

When we think about citizenship education, formal instruction in a classroom setting most often comes to mind. However, adult educators have more recently begun to recognize the importance of informal learning in terms of knowledge production and acquisition, and in terms of subjectivity, identification and identity formation. In the case of immigration, this would lead us to consider sites outside of the classroom where individuals come to understand the meaning and content of Canadian nationalism, the place that they are expected to occupy within the narrative of Canadian nationhood and the accompanying processes of racialisation and ethnicisation.

It is apparent that it is not just the distinction between formal and informal learning sites in concrete terms that is important, but the convergences and contradictions between the way that the discourse of the nation and citizenship, as well as identities, are represented in each location. These are contradictions between the discourse of citizenship, the performance of citizenship and the way in which individuals identify with or take up the categories of citizenship. Conventional discourses of nation and citizenship suggest stable unitary selves differentiated along only one axis -- race, gender, or class. The challenge is to introduce to the discussion a notion of a selfhood which resists this form of consolidation as well as identifying the various sites where this learning takes place. In addition to identifying the various sites and processes through which learning for citizenship takes place, we also need to be concerned with how the categories of race, class and gender come together to inform a particular individual's experience of becoming a Canadian citizen. An adherence to theories of interlocking oppression necessitates that we cease dealing with social differences as separate categories, and begin to think them together.

The questions that this approach raises with regards to a program of citizenship education are myriad. The challenge is to confront the means by which the category of citizen is raced, classed and gendered, how this bears on the process by which individuals come to know themselves as citizens and to allow this knowledge to guide the development and provision of services in this area.

Class and Cultural Hegemony in Back-to-the-Land Communities

Amish Morrell, MA Student, OISE/UT

In North America, many people who came of age within the 1960's counterculture went "back-to-the-land" to escape the alienation of urban industrial society and to seek simple, self-sufficient lifestyles close to nature. Many of the back-to-the-landers sought social change by creating their own alternative social and economic institutions. While members of this community

allied themselves with struggles for justice and equality and attempted to affect social change through their everyday life practices, it was almost universally white and middle class.

Back-to-the-landers sought an experience of authenticity. Their class privilege afforded them a particular notion of the real, manifest in idealized images of nature, rural communities, and other cultures. While there are obvious limits to the inclusivity of this particular subculture, it illustrates the processes, and politics, of meaning making through cultural representations and practices. By looking at how social movements and countercultures constitute themselves, both materially and ideologically -- how they give their ideals and practices felt meaning -- we can better understand how we can more actively participate in and transform society. Cloaked as 'common sense' ideology permeates all representation, implicitly and unconsciously and constructing and organizing meaningful experiences.

Social difference is deployed through defining who has access to particular forms of cultural meaning. How back-to-the-landers read rural landscapes was largely informed by a romantic vision of nature and rural communities to which they had privileged access as members of middle-class urban society. Alternative cultures, such as that of the back-to-the-landers have a necessary role in proposing cultural alternatives to social problems such as environmental destruction, human rights abuses, and capitalist alienation. However, we need to recognize that they occur within, and are not autonomous from larger processes of cultural hegemony. Since the codes by which we interpret our surroundings are informed by our social location we need to explicate how how social difference is culturally constituted. Only then might we be able to conceptualize critical cultural interventions that can move us towards greater social equity.

Civil Society-Market-State Triad: Redefining the Boundaries of Governance and Community

Deborah Sword, PhD Student, OISE/UT

Theories of public protest and citizenship engagement are not an abstraction. They have on-the-ground practical consequences that affect private lives and private spaces. When upheavals enter a neighborhood, neighbors galvanize. The acts of protesting and the undertakings which they protest against have made ordinary people overnight experts on their communities. They did that themselves and quickly, out of necessity. Regardless of their previous educational status or position, they gathered in kitchens after work, after the children were in bed and learned what they needed to know to achieve their goals, often phrased as "saving their communities".

What is striking is how their self-generated knowledge and their use of it to preserve their interests gained legitimacy. The process of protesting is now so well documented and established that it has spawned a profession to manage it (public participation practitioners) and set of syndromes: Not In My Backyard (NIMBY); Locally Unwanted Land Uses (LULU); and Not On Planet Earth (NOPE). The activists at one time were deemed trouble-makers, nay-sayers, ludites, and special interest groups. Now, they are being courted as citizen representatives,

participants with important knowledge and local advisory committees (LAC's) or public advisory committees (PAC's).

The success of government and industry at securing public interest has shifted some of the power balance and affected how governance and business happens. The method of distinguishing sectors as 'state, market, civil society' triad no longer reflects what is happening in practice. Governments are convening round table dialogues of all the parties and accepting input before shaping public policy. Corporations are contributing resources to this process and are also listening to public input. The barriers that used to keep the sectors separate are shifting.

Although certain forms of civic engagement had been considered subversive and illegitimate for years before gaining mainstream credibility, it is now in danger of becoming codified and part of the system to which it was supposed to be an alternative. Its mainstream acceptance might signify that it, like the power structure it protested, can no longer be changed.

Building Citizenship through Civil Society-State Alliances: Adult Learning and the Politics of Participatory Democracy

Daniel Schugurensky, Assistant Professor, OISE/UT

This presentation will explore the linkages between citizenship-building, public policy and adult education in the transition to the 21st century. Initially, special attention will be paid to two influential traditions of citizenship education (the liberal and the radical), pointing out the strengths and limitations of each one. The later part of this paper will attempt to link the debate on citizenship education models with the debates on democratic theory and practice, particularly on the limits and possibilities of representative and participatory democracy in late capitalism, and will describe some current experiences of participatory democracy.

The author argues that what is often missing in citizenship education programmes is an institutional and social structure that effectively links civic learning with meaningful transformative actions. It also argues that these structures can be built, because the ascendance of transnational forces in influencing societal affairs, powerful as they are, does not necessarily mean the end of local politics. Local politics still constitute important sites of negotiation among different groups and, particularly in the context of favorable democratic environments and progressive public policies, they can eventually become appropriate sites for informal and nonformal learning through deliberation and collective decision-making processes. In the conclusions, the paper addresses the challenges and opportunities that the transition to the 21st century poses for an emancipatory citizenship education and for building a more just and democratic society.

Policy Issues and Agendas:
Voices in Adult Education Challenging Corporate Rule and Global Markets
by
Rose Dyson Ed.D. & Geraldine (Jody) Macdonald R.N. Ed.D.

The inspiration for this research arose on the basis of personal concerns about encroaching corporate rule both locally and globally. These concerns were shared by both of us with a broad coalition of groups and individuals worldwide. In this paper we discuss the development of awareness and subsequent opposition on the part of adult educators and the Canadian public at large regarding threats to local citizen autonomy brought about by contemporary global corporate dominance.

Ways in which this opposition expressed itself through federal Progressive Conservative Party leadership candidate David Orchard's campaign in 1998 are reviewed along with the purpose, process and findings of the research project. The paper will conclude with our analysis of the potential contribution of adult educators to the protection of citizen rights along with the ability to control their own destinies in civil society within the emerging global economy.

In Canada, by the fall of 1997, opposition to the encroachment of corporate rule coalesced predominantly around the looming threat to national sovereignty posed by the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) now for a second time, under negotiation at the World Trade Organization. Inspired by NAFTA and the Canada/U.S. Free Trade Agreement which preceded it, this global free trade agreement would allow private corporations to sue any government of nations bound by it for real or imagined injury to their businesses caused by any law, past, present or future.

Citizen concerns and subsequent social activism in Canada over the past two years coincided with the leadership campaign for the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada, launched in the Spring of 1998. A decision reached by the Party in 1994 at a national restructuring convention to open up the process of leadership selection to involve direct citizen participation created a rare opportunity for infusion of new members and new ideas. The customary route for leadership selection through delegate election within all ridings in the country who must then attend a national leadership convention inevitably excludes most party members on the basis of costly attendance alone.

This historic coincidence meant that David Orchard, an organic farmer from Saskatchewan, who founded the organization, Citizens Concerned About Free Trade in 1985, was able to enter the leadership race and bring with him several thousands of new members. With the help of Progressive Conservative Party Past President and newspaper columnist, Dalton Camp, former Prime Minister John Turner, one of the researchers who is a long time party member

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and others opposed to the economic direction NAFTA and free trade agreements have taken us in recent years, Orchard was tutored and guided into offering the Party a new alternative.

In his policy platform he argued that he was taking the party back to its historical roots with a campaign based on environmental issues, opposition to free trade and, by corallary, unbridled globalization. His focus was on how unfettered "free" trade agreements are making it easier for investors to move capital, including production facilities, from one country to another despite evidence that increased capital mobility disproportionately benefits multinational corporations at the expense of most of the world's peoples and both the natural and cultural environment.

The opportunity to elevate opposition to the MAI to a new level through direct political party participation in a leadership campaign proved to be very appealing to a number of people for a variety of reasons. For many who were already dues paying members of the Party, David Orchard's declared candidacy meant the leadership campaign offered relevance to real personal concerns. For some it meant setting aside other political party loyalties to support key issues of personal concern being addressed within the framework of a rival party.

For many, including David Orchard himself, it meant joining a political party for the first time and getting involved in a campaign. All of this culminated in a sharp learning curve for virtually everyone within the Federal Progressive Conservative Party, old and new members alike, Orchard supporters and otherwise.

The potential for invigorating the Canadian political process by reviving a Party that could pose an alternative to the governing Liberal Party, and in turn revive democracy itself in the country, was well understood. By opening up the leadership selection process the Party was offering all Canadians a unique opportunity to participate in choosing a federal political party leader.

During the campaign, leadership candidate Joe Clark frequently drew attention to waning political involvement on the part of Canadians in the process itself. He directly addressed the troubling trends observed in the last federal election in which 30 percent of eligible voters declined to do so, 40 percent of them young people eligible to vote for the first time.

David Orchard's campaign offered ordinary Canadians an opportunity to resist the threat of the MAI, frequently referred to by its critics as NAFTA on steriods. In other words, growing stridency on the part of dominant corporate interests to further disenfranchise national political leadership in the country could be addressed more directly than through non politically aligned protest groups.

These trends were criticized at the beginning of the campaign by Orchard in his media interviews when the federal government in Ottawa capitulated under the rules of NAFTA to Ethyl Corporation of Virginia. In July, 1998 it was announced that the Chretien Government was settling out of court the $347 million lawsuit launched against the government of Canada by the

Corporation, by paying them $20 million, providing a written letter of apology to the corporation for "damage to their reputation" and killing its own legislation, Bill C-29, which would have banned the transportation or importation of the gasoline additive, MMT. The fact that the additive had been banned in Europe, California and several other states in the U.S., based on a decision by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency forbidding MMT from being marketed as a gasoline additive was a non issue.

In their support for the Orchard campaign, new party members brought new life and energy into the PC Party of Canada and forced all PC members following the campaign to consider, however fleetingly, the potential negative outcomes from Canada's support for the MAI and other misnamed trade agreements.

From the standpoint of adult education theory and practice, learning was facilitated on a number of levels. Throughout the Campaign, the other four Candidates - all staunch free trade supporters - with the possible exception of Joe Clark who carefully avoided exposing his position on any issues at all during the campaign, with no visible concerns about the environment in their platforms, along with their close advisors and supporters were required to listen to Orchard's arguments and formulate rebuttals.

The most frequently used one was that Orchard was "a one issue" candidate. Orchard supporters were then required to interpret the pervasive impact of so called free trade. Media coverage broadened the discussion so that public education on his policy platform included those following the campaign, regardless of whether or not they were dues paying members of the PC Party of Canada. Gradually, discussion of free trade and the counterproductive fall-out to civil society from encroaching corporate rule, became more visible within the mainstream media.

As researchers our interest in the campaign was focused on ways in which the Orchard Campaign contributed not only to the leadership race but to the Party itself. Canadians were and continue to be offered an opportunity to participate in resistance to corporate domination supported by elected members of Parliament. Essentially they are being given the option of direct and focused political involvement.

We chose participatory, action orientated, research methods. Our study was named "Attracting New Federal PC Members: The Contribution of the Orchard Campaign". We conducted a series of focus groups with a small group of people who had joined the PC Leadership race specifically to support the Orchard leadership campaign. We were primarily interested in their experience and the nature of their involvement in the campaign. In this case, participatory action research methodology, known to be research which works from the "bottom-up" with a focus on local people as participants, and local issues, was especially adaptable.

We recognized the need for sensitivity that researchers must exercise in the various applications of these methods for gathering data that should emerge from the "bottom-up" under the direction of the participants themselves. As Cornwall & Jewkes (1995) argue , " ...the key element of

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participatory research lies not in methods but in the attitudes of researchers, which in turn determine how, by and for whom research is conceptualized and conducted" (p.1667).

Power is a central issue in participatory research, and ideally, shared power is the reality. Nevertheless, with all but two of our participants being defined as people who had joined the Federal PC Party for the first time to support the Orchard campaign, it quickly became apparent that there was a very fragile sense of community within this group of people, and that we would have to play a role in organizing these people to gather together and begin to discuss their shared experience.

Our methodology was simple. We posted notices in the campaign headquarters inviting participants to three focus group discussions in one of the researcher's homes which was located in a quiet and central area of downtown Toronto. As well, we encouraged a number of key people known to one of the researchers to participate in these focus group discussions.

One focus group discussion was held several weeks prior to the first leadership vote, the second on October 25, 1998, the day after the first leadership vote, and the third one on the day after the second vote three weeks later on November 14, at which time Joe Clark was declared the winner and new leader of the PC Party of Canada.

The total number of participants including the two researchers was nine. Although we originally hoped that all participants/co-researchers would attend all three sessions, in reality, we had fluctuating attendance, with only two participants apart from the researchers themselves in attendance each time.

A profile prepared by the co-researchers identified a number of key points. A questionnaire developed for the project was filled out by each participant and added to the data collection. Our second focus group discussion, the day after the first vote, was conducted in part through the filtered prism of the weekly Sunday CBC Radio Cross Country Check-up program, in this case, hosted by Rex Murphy.

One of our participants, a journalist herself, contributed to the review of issues brought to the Campaign by Orchard's candidacy by calling in to the program on our behalf. We were then able to reflect on our own responses, both in relation to discussion on the radio as well as within the campaign in more general terms. This approach dramatically broadened the parameters of our data gathering boundaries, essentially taking in all participants in the radio program as well as those seated in the room allocated for the purpose of this particular focus group discussion.

Among those participating in our three focus groups, we had twice as many women (n=6) as men (n=3) involved in the study. All but three of the participants (6) had joined the party for the first time. One male participant, a former member of the PC youth wing during his days as a law student, had renewed a lapsed membership.

The seven who had joined the party more recently had joined in July (1), 1998 August (1), and September (4) of the same year. Six of the co-researchers had never previously joined a federal party at all. Considering that the average age ranged from 40-49 and 70-79 years this, in itself was, in our view, a remarkable finding that warrants further exploration.

Only two of the co-researchers/participants were employed full time, two part-time. Five were not gainfully employed but of these, three were retired. Only one of the researcher/participants had dependents at home. The only two participants who were married were the two researchers conducting the project. In other words, ourselves. The remaining people were divorced (3) or single(4).

Despite their personal incomes being low, with two below $10,000.00, the educational levels were astonishingly high. Four of the participants had completed an undergraduate degree, one a college degree and one was a lawyer. One had completed a master's degree, one a professional engineering degree and two held doctorates. In short, these co-researchers were well educated, underemployed, poor, in financial constraints, and had time to spare to focus on civil society.

What were the outcomes of the project? David Orchard was ultimately not successful in winning the leadership race but he did come in second. This status was achieved primarily because neither he nor his supporters would yield to the pressure within the Party for him to step out of the race in view of Joe Clark's clear majority following the first ballot. Rationale within the Orchard Campaign was that whether he won or not, sustaining the campaign through a second ballot provided a key opportunity to continue focusing on our policies.

From our standpoint as those conducting the study, it also provided an important opportunity to continue building up the profile of the Party within the country as a whole. From the standpoint of adult learning it gave inexperienced members of the Orchard campaign - and there were many - an invaluable opportunity to grasp the fundamentals of running a political campaign. By the end of the second round of voting on November 14, those who were managing it were beginning, for example, to understand the precise role and function of indoor and outdoor scrutineers.

There have been other examples of successful outcomes. One of the often expressed concerns on the part of competing candidates, both before and after the race was whether or not Orchard himself, as well as many of this supporters who were newcomers to the Party would stay and help to rebuild it despite his loss. In the months which immediately followed it became increasingly evident that a significant number of the approximately 15,000 who had joined the Party to support Orchard were, indeed, staying. Those who have stayed continue to focus attention on issues involving the environment, free trade and globalization of poverty.

Soon after the conclusion of the Leadership Campaign, Clark appointed Toronto lawyer, Libby Burnham and Manitoba based leadership candidate Brian Pallister to co-chair the "Canadian Alternative Task Force". The mandate of the Task Force is to seek the opinions and suggestions

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of a diverse cross-section of Canadians, in order to identify the broad common group on which the P.C. Party of Canada can build a "Canadian Alternative" able to replace the Liberal government in the next Federal Election. Emphasis is always placed on the fact that one does NOT have to be a dues paying member of the P.C.Party of Canada to participate.

In reality, the primary purpose of the Task Force has been to stave off initiatives from the Federal Reform Party for the Federal P.C. Party to unite with them and in the process, move the entire Canadian political spectrum further over to the right. As Orchard and his supporters argued during the Leadership Campaign and continue to argue within the Party since, the place to gain broad public support is to the left rather than to the right of the currently governing Liberal Party.

A number of consultations with Orchard and his supporters have taken place in the months following the Campaign. Indications are that Clark is relying heavily on this contingent of new members within the P.C. Party to broaden Party appeal to Canadians in general. His appointed Task Force on homelessness within the Party is one example.

Orchard is still chairman of Citizens Concerned About Free Trade (CCFT) which he founded in 1985, as he was before the leadership campaign. He has published an update version of his book, The Fight For Canada: Resisting Four Centuries of American Expansionism, and party participation remains a priority.

Since the commencement of NATO bombing in Kosovo in March he has used his heightened public profile from the leadership campaign to broaden public opposition to Canadian involvement. News coverage in The National Post, April 29, 1999 focused on the "eccentric" views of Orchard and growing concerns among old time Federal PC Party loyalists who were "demanding" that Joe Clark distance himself from Orchard who, in their view, was "undermining" the leader and passing his "socialist" views off as Tory policy. Tempers have evidently flared over his leadership of an ad hoc campaign protesting Canada's participation in the NATO air strikes.

Several days earlier, it was reported, Party Vice President, David Wood, issued a statement denouncing Orchard, both for his stands on Kosovo and his continued public attacks of the Canada-U.S. free trade deal reached under the Tory government of Brian Mulroney. What appears to be largely overlooked so far is that Orchard's conditions for remaining in the Party were that the impact of free trade in Canada be examined within the Party by a task force set up for that purpose. Ironically, it is Bill Graham, Liberal MP for Toronto Centre Rosedale and chair of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade who is conducting a national inquiry on the impact of free trade and the role of the World Trade Organization.

Still, members of a group of federal Tories who support amalgamation with the Reform Party called the National Blue Committee are evidently "puzzled" by Clark's attraction to Mr. Orchard according to the aforementioned coverage in The National Post. To charges of eccentricity Orchard has expressed "shock" that none of the political parties in the House of Commons have

spoken out against the bombing of "Yugoslavia" and pointed out that his position is also that of "some 100 countries around the world".

On the whole, it seems self evident that Orchard and his supporters are having some influence on the future direction of the PC Party of Canada. How long and meaningful this will be will only become apparent after the results of the next election, widely expected in the year 2001.

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SPIRITUAL POSSIBILITIES OF INFORMAL LEARNING

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Abstract: *I argue that the current focus on meaning-making in adult learning theory is intricately related to the spiritual quest of adults. Informal learning strategies such as mentoring and dialoguing can facilitate adult learners' search to construct meaning from their experience, and consequently to develop spiritually.*

According to a *Globe and Mail* headline, adults in Canada "want Jesus, but hold the theology" (Nolen, 1999). This theme is echoed in a feature article in *Macleans* (Emberley, 1998). Whereas adults do not want organized religion, they do want to find meaning in their everyday lives (see Ó Murchú, 1998). Concomitant with this spiritual renaissance in popular culture is the ever-growing adult education interest in helping adults construct meaning from experience (e.g., MacKeracher, 1996; Merriam & Heuer, 1996; Mezirow, 1991). The focus on meaning-making is intricately related to the spiritual quest of adults, a search that forces us to reach beyond egocentric interests, to recognize the human connection to something greater than ourselves, and to be concerned about and to care for humans and the natural world.

Meaning-Making and Spirituality

The concept of meaning-making is not new to adult education. Belenky et al. (1986) popularized constructivism, or constructing knowledge/meaning from subjective and received sources, as integral for female development, in their much-touted *Women's Ways of Knowing*. Discussions about spirituality versus religion, and the place of spirituality in adult education, are also not new (e.g., Hart & Holton, 1993; Weibust & Thomas, 1993; Westrup, 1998). In fact, in 1925, British educator Yeaxlee highlighted the importance of spiritual values in adult education, calling them a neglected species. Yet, the quest for the spiritual dimensions of adult education seems to have developed a new sense of urgency in our time.

I maintain that the tide of attention to meaning-making needs to be steered away from a preoccupation with self which has become the predominant force in adult education. The interest in meaning-making ought to be directed to a more outward-looking spirituality which embraces a greater sense of the other, and the inter-relatedness of humans with the natural world. This thrust brings adult education closer to Lindeman's (1926) goals of a socially responsible adult education. Merriam and Heuer (1996) argue that adult educators can facilitate the process of meaning making-learning-development by exposing adults to a wide variety of experiences, by creating a safe place to learn and explore, and by modeling the kind of development they are seeking (p. 253). I argue that the spiritual dimensions of meaning-making can be furthered by the flexible and commonplace informal learning strategies of dialoguing and mentoring, both of which stretch the individual beyond a self-occupied focus on personal meaning, to a sense of responsibility and care for others and the natural world.

Adult Learning and Spirituality

The spiritual dimension of adult learning is evident in the informal adult learning strategies of mentorship and dialogue. Both of these strategies represent a means by which adults can learn,

intentionally and unintentionally, from the routine, everyday experience of living (see Watkins & Marsick, 1992). Mentoring and dialoguing can be fostered in order to promote the spiritual dimensions of a stronger sense of one's self and one's experiences, and to develop interconnections with other humans and the natural world. By fostering these informal learning strategies, adults can be assisted in finding ways to develop a stronger sense of self and to reach out to others in respect and care.

Mentoring

Adult educators have paid close attention to the benefits and possibilities of mentorship as a means of adult learning. Cohen (1995), Levinson (1978), and (1995), Daloz (1986), to name but three, have closely examined how the mentor can assist the adult in realizing their life dreams, and in developing as a stronger human being. However, with the exception of Daloz, little attention has been given to mentoring as a means of helping the adult learner develop a stronger connection to others, to make meaning from experiences, and to accept the responsibility to care and be concerned for others.

Mentoring and an Awareness of One's Own Self. In authentic mentoring relationships, informal learning occurs continuously. Mentors teach the mentees what they know about their professional work, and emphasize that the mentee must develop as an individual and have a strong sense of self, while reaching outward to others. Effective mentors nurture and encourage mentees, by affirming them, challenging them, and providing opportunities for them to excel. These mentors enable mentees to examine their personal and professional experiences and to create meaning from them (English, 1998).

Mentoring and Interpersonal Connections. Effective mentors nurture their relationships with their mentees, and recognize the value of interpersonal connections. The close-knit nature of the mentoring relationship provides mentees with the opportunity to nurture knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Such mentors have a profound sense of responsibility to induct new professionals, and a commitment to pass to a new generation the lifework he or she has been involved in. By reverencing the mentees as learners, mentors teach them knowingly and intentionally. Committed mentors nurture mentorship as a spiritual practice, and not as a bottom-line driven activity. For them, mentorship is not connected solely to the improvement of productivity. Rather, these mentors have a serious commitment to the mentee and the greater good; only in this way can mentorship achieve its full potential.

The mentoring relationship is one in which mutuality prevails, and from which the mentor, mentee, and the learning environment all benefit. From this perspective, the mentor is the guide *par excellence*, leading, showing, teaching, instructing, and guiding the mentee in the intricacies of adult education practice. Mentoring is a viable alternative to a positivistic, technical, dispassionate mindset in adult education, in that it promotes a dialogical relationship which actively engages learners and facilitates their spiritual growth and development.

Dialoguing

A second informal learning strategy is the nurturing of dialogue, holding in respect and reverence the opportunity to connect with the other in a meaningful way (Bohm, 1996). Dialogue, which is at its best a middle ground between the learners, is a primary means of adult

informal learning. It can be fostered by an adept adult educator so that learners can maximize the opportunity to be actively engaged and responsive to one another. Dialogue is a term that is sometimes used synonymously with networking, yet it transcends networking in that it connotes the mutual giving and development of persons; it is less fraught with the profit-driven associations of networking.

Dialoguing and an Awareness of One's Own Self. Once adults become actively engaged with one another in dialogue a new reality develops between them. Physicist David Bohm (1996), an ardent proponent of genuine dialogue (as distinguished from discussion), points out that adults develop a stronger sense of self from their relationships with others. Adults become aware of who they are as individuals when they are in relationship. They engage in generative listening and

Dialoguing and Interpersonal Connections. Genuine dialogue helps individuals become aware of the limits of personal development and narcissism. Genuine dialogue causes learners to reach out to know and be known by others. The effective adult educator encourages the ongoing lifelong commitment to dialogue. Genuine dialogue allows adults to explore essential questions and to make meaning of their experiences; it nurtures spiritual development.

Effective dialogue does not have a recipe-approach—it is nurtured, not directed and not prescribed. It implies the holding tensions, suspending judgments, and engaging in participatory inquiry into differences. Adult educators can facilitate authentic dialogue by respecting the principles of adult learning, which include providing a safe environment, building sound relationships, and encouraging self-directed learning. These principles foster the likelihood that adults will learn from each other, enter into the sacred space between them, and increase their conversational capacity (Palmer, 1998). Adult educators need to model and encourage effective dialogue with learners. The engendering of *bona fide* dialogue is at the heart of adult learning.

Making Sense of Experience

Both dialogue and mentorship foster and support the adult learners' quest to grow, learn, develop and make meaning out of life experience, the perennial human challenges. Each of us needs to develop a strong sense of self in order to know, deeply understand, and actively respond to our interconnections and ultimately to our responsibility to other people and the natural world. The adult who is engaged in a discipline or practice such as dialogue or mentoring has the opportunity to engage with others and to discover purpose and meaning in life.

Ideally, adult learning is not an individual quest— it is very much a communal activity that occurs in relationship to others. It engages others in the spiritual practice of making meaning, which has been at the core of adult learning, from Lindemann (1926) to present. Isolationist tendencies, in contrast (Slee, 1993), divorce us from a communal undertaking. Strategies such as dialogue and mentoring stretch meaning making beyond individually centered practices and bring the adult to an awareness of their interconnections with others and the natural world.

As Merriam and Heuer (1996) point out, the meaning-making endeavor is a "dynamic process that involves the self, reflection and experience" (p. 254). Adults need challenge and critical reflection to understand their experiences and to grow and learn from them. Merriam and Heuer

also note that adults require both time and space to facilitate the processing of new, challenging, or disorienting experiences. Authentic dialogue and mentoring experiences provide a supportive and safe environment for examining one's assumptions, and ways of acting in the world.

The encouragement of meaning-making facilitates the adult task of lifelong searching for purpose and meaning. Whereas early writers such as Yeaxlee (1925) saw this task as intricately connected to religion, increasing numbers of people view it as the spiritual quest of adulthood, and as an intricate dimension of adult growth and development. Yeaxlee understood that adult education necessarily needs to be concerned with universal questions about the meaning of life, which he viewed as contributing to meaning making (see also Jarvis, 1983; Jarvis, 1987).

Limitations and Challenges

Adult informal learning, by its non-institutional nature, frequently lies beyond the bounds of the adult educator. Yet, the role of the adult educator is to nurture whenever and where-ever possible, the individual's interest in continuous informal learning, or the pursuit of lifelong learning. This challenge is confounded by the fact that support for informal learning is often given solely to increase organizational profits. As adult educators Fenwick and Lange (1998) have pointed out, organizations continue to pursue spiritual development and meaning-making in order to improve the bottom line. Yet, the adult educator in a workplace can strive to bring an authentic dimension to the fostering of spirituality through nurturing informal learning practices, which give pride of place to learners and their needs. An authentic spirituality must be fostered among learners, in order to create a sustainable world, where care, concern and outreach are forces to reckon with. Fostering informal learning through dialogue and mentorship, so that the spiritual meaning-making focus of adults is honored, is a significant undertaking and one that must be met if adult educators take seriously their role in addressing adult development needs.

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EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING REVISITED

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This paper explores distinctions between traditional classroom learning through the transmission of information and experiential learning. It suggests implications for the workplace and continuing professional education.

Cet article examine la distinction entre l'apprentissage traditionnel en transmittant de l'information et l'apprentissage appris par les expériences personnelles. Cet article suggère des implications pour le centre de travail et pour l'avancement professionnel.

The student is explaining how she led the training session at her workplace. She delivered a lecture for 45 minutes, complete with attractive and detailed overheads, and then decided to "throw in something experiential". The "something experiential" was an activity that was meant to energize the group. As I listen to the string of disconnected activities, I note her confusion over some of the terms she is explaining. I think of other students who have difficulty grasping the complexity of experiential learning as opposed to traditional classroom teaching. I conclude that she needs help in clarifying concepts about learning and teaching. My dilemma is how to facilitate her learning in a way that is congruent with the very principles she is trying to understand. To deliver a lecture on experiential learning is to fall into the trap of using a traditional approach to impose a model onto a student for her to react to and assimilate. I revisit Freire, Lewin, Kolb, Mezirow, Hunt, and Bateson for guidance in sharpening my own thinking in order to help my student.

I have caught myself in another go-around of the Lewin-Kolb experiential learning cycle. As I reflected on what I was observing, I came to some conclusions which pointed to new teaching behaviours. I invite you to join me as I revisit some of the differences between traditional classroom approaches and learning from our own experience.

Much of continuing professional education and staff training is based on a transmission mode of learning. Organizations sponsor workshops and seminars where an expert lectures or a trainer follows a predetermined curriculum. "Doing something experiential" is no more than a technique to involve participants in reacting to the presentations. Paulo Freire refers to this kind of learning as a "banking" approach to education whereby the teacher adds deposits of information to the empty minds of the learners. "The scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits....In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing" (Freire, 1993, p. 53).

The belief that theory is somehow out there in the hands of the experts is one which I repeatedly witness among graduate students. They search for the latest book, the best theory, the hottest catchword as they perceive "theory" as something mysterious and authoritative apart from themselves. Even after reading many books they still do not recognize the very phenomenon they have read about when it happens within and around themselves. The theories seem to be abstract, meaningless words disjointed from their life. By starting with theory they mistakenly believe that education has to do with acquiring other people's ideas and then reacting to them. A lively debate often ensues over whether experience or theory is more important as students demand more or less of one or the other in their courses.

In a typical traditional classroom, the teacher talks and then invites questions and discussion. This attempt to make the classroom more interactional should **not** be confused with experiential learning. The lecture (or demonstration or video or whatever the medium for transmitting information) can certainly be enhanced by some activity to assist learners in analysing the material which has been transmitted so that they integrate the information into their already existing mind map. Questions, reflective activities, and small group discussions can help learners with this integration. Kolb reminds us that "knowledge does not exist solely in books, mathematical formulas, or philosophical systems; it requires active learners to interact with, interpret, and elaborate these symbols" (Kolb, 1984, p. 121). Delivering someone else's theory or information to the learners -- with or without activities to assist them in integrating the material -- is a **transmission** mode of learning.

To take experiential learning seriously, however, demands more than simply adding some interactive components into the design of a workshop. Instead of starting with external theories and knowledge, **experiential learning** does an about-face by starting with the learner. Kolb warned that "without guiding theory and principles, experiential learning can well become another educational fad -- just new techniques for the educator's bag of tricks. Experiential learning theory offers something more substantial and enduring. It offers the foundation for an approach to education and learning as a lifelong process that is soundly based" (Kolb, 1984, p. 38). It requires a fundamentally different belief about how people learn from their own experiences as opposed to how they learn by being taught.

In traditional classrooms the direction of knowledge flow and creation is from the outside in. While acknowledging some value in what he calls "outside-in" learning, Hunt advocates an "inside-out psychology, rooted in your own experience, [which] is totally opposite to the traditional outside-in approach which leaves human affairs to the experts" (Hunt, 1987, p. 2). He has found that "practitioners' experienced knowledge is the cornerstone of any theoretical account of practice -- practice to theory" (p. 54). He argues that professionals need to trust and validate this learning which is rooted in their own practice.

Kolb talks about the key role that experience plays in learning. "This differentiates experiential learning theory from rationalist and other cognitive theories of learning

that tend to give primary emphasis to acquisition, manipulation, and recall of abstract symbols " (Kolb, 1984, p. 20). In experiential learning, "learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience" (p. 38).

Mezirow states that "reflective learning involves the confirmation, addition, or transformation of ways of interpreting experience. Transformational learning results in new or transformed meaning schemes or, when reflection focuses on premises, transformed meaning perspectives" (Mezirow, 1991, p. 117). He also acknowledges that "not all adult education involves reflective learning; however, fostering reflective and transformative learning should be the cardinal goal of adult education" (p. 117).

Freire advocates what he calls a "problem-posing education" where the learner engages in a process of examining a situation and creating answers from the material at hand. "Problem-posing theory and practice take the people's historicity as their starting point....The unfinished character of human beings and the transformational character of reality necessitate that education be an ongoing activity" (Freire, 1993, p. 65).

Bateson (1994) uses the metaphor of improvisation. As we engage in an experience, we meet some novelty that requires us to improvise, to use whatever we already know and to modify it in light of the new situation. Much learning in the workplace and in life generally is improvisation, learning by the seat of our pants. We don't have time to attend a workshop or read a book. We might not even be able to ask an "expert". These situations demand a whole different approach to how we adapt. It is "just-in-time" learning as new problems arise on the job that require us to create something that draws on past knowledge but goes beyond it.

Each of these authors is advocating a revolutionary, 180-degree turn in education. Instead of starting with external knowledge coming from a subject matter expert (lecturer, author, etc.), each values people's lived experience as the basis for making meaning that guides subsequent action. The person is involved in the job and learns through action-reflection. Dewey, Lewin, Kolb, and others have mapped the orderly cycle which the learner engages in: experience, reflection,conceptualization, and experimentation.

Experience. Something happens on the job that catches the person's attention. There is some problem or crisis, something out of the ordinary demanding an explanation or solution.
At the weekly managers' meeting I offered a solution to the problem we were discussing but no one paid attention to what I said. About half an hour later when P. made a similar suggestion, people latched on to it and decided to try it.

Reflection. We are preoccupied about what went on. Like a loose thread that we keep pulling at, we find ourselves going over the episode in our minds, noting aspects of it. This ruminating often happens during times when we are engaged in mindless physical activities such as walking, gardening, or commuting.

I felt slighted and unheard in the meeting. I had been excited about my point and delivered it with considerable oomph. But there was silence after I spoke; no one picked up on what I said. Then someone else made a different point. I might just as well have never spoken, for all that anyone paid attention to my point.

Generalizing. The ruminating over details gradually broadens the view as we begin to identify patterns. What has happened this time is similar to and different from other situations. A framework for understanding the dynamics begins to emerge as we develop a way of making sense of the incident and fit it into other happenings.
I recall other group discussions where I presented an idea and was taken aback that people either disregarded what I said or argued with me. Then later they came around to my point of view. It seems that I don't present my ideas very well and somehow create defensiveness rather than acceptance by my style. I also don't allow others the time I have had to think about my new idea. I'm surprised when they don't immediately see its merits.

Applying. Once a principle or pattern begins to form, we recognize ways of using the emerging concepts in other situations.
At the next meeting I will present my idea more carefully and will use active listening rather than arguments when I sense defensiveness. I 'll choose words and tone of voice that express my enthusiasm but will watch not to bowl people over or sound conclusive. I may recommend time out to think about the idea before voting on it.

By learning from our own experience, we move around the learning cycle as we start with an experience, reflect on it, draw out concepts, and then apply them. The application in turn becomes a new experience to reflect upon, make sense of, and use. What seems like a simple four-point cycle in fact conveys very complex phenomena which flow sequentially one from the other. Kolb (1984) explores in great detail these dialectical processes.

Thus far in this paper we have reflected on some experiences in order to sharpen concepts related to experiential learning. Now we come to the point in the learning cycle where we ask, "So what?" What are implications for learners and educators?

Most formal training programs in organizations are designed according to a transmission model where learners react to information and knowledge conveyed from a subject matter expert. Such an approach is useful only when participants do not have any background in the subject. In contrast, when learners bring experience and knowledge to the educational event, a workshop or course design based on the experiential learning cycle helps people make their own meanings grounded in their own experience.

Moreover we need to recognize and validate the great amount of experiential learning there is directly on the job, much of which may be outside the formal classroom setting. People develop through trial and error, through action-reflection, through informal discussion with colleagues in the coffee room and in the halls, and through their own

observations. Those who are aware of how this learning occurs keep open to events in the moment and look for insights hidden in daily activities. The steps of the experiential learning cycle -- experiencing, reflecting, conceptualizing, and applying -- are learnable skills. Educators can design questions, activities, and resources to support people in this natural cycle of learning based in their own experiences. Bulletin boards or memos with reflective pieces, reflection questions incorporated into planning meetings, a meditation room, reframing of "mistakes" into "learning opportunities", scheduled time out for reflection, and coffee break discussions that encourage the exchange of experiments and ideas are examples of strategies which convey an expectation that learning will unfold naturally throughout the day as people go about their work and take note of happenings.

In summary, organizations and professions have knowledge and information which they need to pass on to workers and members. Therefore there will continue to be a place for transmission from subject matter expert to uninitiated novice. The effective adult educator, as well as transmitting information, assists learners in digesting and working with the material.

Furthermore other, often more significant, learning occurs when happenings catch the attention, are reflected upon, and are analyzed for underlying principles to help explain the happening. These principles or explanations become living theories which guide people in future situations. Workers who learn experientially by improvising new possibilities as they go continue to develop on the job. Organizations can help workers recognize both kinds of learning and develop the skills of learning both from external sources of knowledge and from their own lived experience.

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ACTION FOR PREVENTION: FEMINIST PRACTICES IN TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING IN WOMEN'S HEALTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT (WITH A FOCUS ON BREAST CANCER)".
A Case Study of a Participatory Research Group

Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg Ph.D

This case study of a feminist research circle illustrates building/strengthening knowledge through critical reflection and action for personal and planetary health. Theory and praxis for promoting alternative paradigms and changing power relationships can contribute to structural change toward environmental health consciousness and social responsibility for a cleaner, safer more just and equal world.

Cette étude d'un cercle féministe de recheche démontre le processus de construction et de renforcissement des connaissances par la réflexion critique et l'action qui mènent vers la santé personnelle et planetaire. En utilisant la théorie jointe a la pratique pour promouvoir des paradigms alternatifs et pour changer les rapports de force, l'on peut contribuer aux changements structurels qui mènent vers la conscience de la santé environmentale et vers une responsabilité sociale qui lutte pour une monde plus propre, plus sécuritaire, plus juste et plus égalitaire.

This case study of a feminist collaborative research circle evolved from a need for a better understanding of how to build and strengthen knowledge through critical reflection and action around health in its widest sense. Believing that a safe environment and health are basic human rights, the women in the circle felt that with effort, people can create the awareness and political will necessary to address these concerns within their communities, workplaces and governments. As such they contributed to education and strategies for changing power relationships and promoting alternative ways of thinking and acting. This effort is seen as a contribution to theory and practice of social, political and economic change towards environmental health consciousness and social responsibility for a cleaner, safer more just and equal world. The study is rooted in my work in education, research and policy change on these issues as a global education consultant, film consultant, researcher and active participant in interrelated social movements. This article will encompass the context of the study, the questions and beyond, the participatory research circle, some outcomes and areas for future work.

The following quote reflects the spirit of the work of the circle:

> We know that learning is often worthwhile just for its own sake...But education for social change is engaged politically. This is praxis or theory in action. Those of us engaged in this praxis whether in community groups, educational institutions or broad based social movements must reflect daily on strategy. Our educational work must be located...so we can exercise our rights and obligations...about the social impact of the learning we promote (Arnold **et al.**, 1991:2-3).

The Context: Largely due to breast cancer epidemics, an educational transformative moment is emerging where feminist understandings of 'the personal is political' are moving quickly with regard to research, learning and advocacy on health and the environment. In recent years, the increased interest and advocacy related to cancer and other environmentally linked diseases have provided an important moment in which to bring environment and primary prevention health issues into more mainstream women's, environmental, health, cancer, peace/justice, labour, anti-racism and other social movements. New generations and diverse groups of women and men are becoming engaged in these relationships of learning because of their own illness or that of their loved ones (cancers, asthma and allergies in children and other immune depletion/environmentally linked diseases). Some

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activists, scientists and physicians have been researching and analysing these issues, providing information and holding conferences to promote the broader engagement of people in the belief that education, advocacy and political action are crucial to preventing many of these conditions. They are demanding a shift away from the patriarchal biomedical/technological model with its largely singular focus on screening and testing (machines) and treatment (drugs) towards the inclusion of more balanced holistic indigenous and complementary medicine approaches to health. They are challenging the political economy of corporate exponential growth, pollution and waste as well as promoting a more traditional societal paradigm of respect for the earth and all species on it. The aim is to build consciousness and social responsibility for a more just, equitable and healthy society. They argue that understanding the politics of primary prevention within this framework is crucial in transformative political action for prevention.

In the Women's Network on Health and the Environment (WNH&E), I learned about power relationships relevant to this discourse. They were parallel to the critical discourse on patriarchal, military industrial corporate ecological destruction in pursuit of exponential growth and profit in the global market economy, which have been central to my concerns for peace and justice. I was interested in exploring how we might deconstruct the different phenomena of these relationships of power in order to reconstruct some pieces of the puzzle in the interests of health in the holistic sense of mind, body, spirit and earth as well as in community, institutional and political structural areas. The educator, researcher and policy change activist in me wanted to examine theory and praxis of effective ways of learning and advocacy to meet these challenges. Therefore I believed that those of us engaged in this work might benefit from a case study of an actual group learning experience to help understand how these concerns can transform us. Hence, the examination of a feminist participatory research process undertaken by a group of committed women who see health as an everyday concern, shaped by forces within our modern era which have to do with patriarchal institutional power, privilege, profit and biomedical/technological research models. We began with the belief that these models must be challenged and changed. To this end, we gathered together as researchers, learners, educators and participants already engaged within various breast cancer, environment, peace, health, prevention, advocacy groups to learn, inform and support each other individually and/or in our communities.

The term 'feminist perspectives' as used here draws on ecological feminist analysis which views all of life as an interconnected web enriched by diversity. It is based primarily on the principles of a transformative feminism that critiques structures of oppression including sexism, racism, classism, ableism, homophobia and anthropocentrism. It is opposed to hierarchy, domination and violence (McAllister, 1982; Merchant, 1990; Starhawk, 1982; hooks, 1984; Shiva, 1989). This analysis critiques the mechanistic paradigm of Western industrial society often described as dualistic, reductionist, dependent on rationality and exploitative of women, indigenous and other marginalized peoples and nature. Ecological transformative feminisms go beyond the struggle for equality within current structures and challenge patriarchal hierarchal foundations of society where power is seen as domination. Integrated in this way, all forms of domination are seen as interconnected. Empowerment and participation are integral to this analysis in transforming the structures of power, in this case pressuring the cancer establishment, policymakers and the public to address environmental causality and primary prevention (Brady, 1991). In recent years the concept "women" has itself become problematic in so far as it hides the differences between different categories of women: of colour and white, working class and middle class, third world and first world, disabled and able bodied, lesbian and heterosexual, etc. (hooks, 1984; Harding, 1992). Stanley and Wise (1990) suggest that "feminism should become explicitly concerned with the multiple and continual fractures that occur between experience and categories" while recognizing that all theory is grounded in experience.

When I was trained as a health professional several decades ago, environmental relationships were not addressed, and while they are still subject to much ignorance and denial by conventional medicine, this is beginning to change. Connections between breast cancer and environmental toxins were first introduced to me by

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dian marino, an environmental educator with terminal breast cancer, teaching at the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University in 1990. She believed that the initiation of her cancer occurred when she was an art student in California some 25 years earlier and was exposed to toxic solvents while cleaning metal plates during the printing process. Further reading informed me of these and related political economy links (Arditti and Schreiber, 1992). Questions were being raised by health and environmental researchers and activists that if many cancers were largely environmentally linked, could they therefore be largely preventable? Networks were forming with the Women's Community Cancer Project, WEDO, Greenpeace, WNH&E and others. Issues around the environmental determinants of health included organochlorines, pesticides, Bovine Growth Hormone (BGH), radiation, x-rays and electromagnetic fields (EMFs) and their synergistic impacts. Much is now known about safe alternatives to the use of these toxic processes. The networks were also challenging the political economy of corporate exponential growth, pollution and waste as well as promoting a more traditional societal paradigm of respect for the earth and all species on it. They were also identifying relevant political action and alternative participatory scientific research models for their particular situations. These positive initiatives continue in tandem with enormous environmental and health policy challenges (the tobacco industry is the just the tip of the corporate iceberg to contend with).

THE QUESTIONS AND BEYOND: The research questions focused on feminist processes, transformations, alternatives to medical models, the contribution to other social, political and cultural movements and how such learning can contribute more effectively to those changes in the future. They examined constraints and impediments such as ignorance, power relationships and politics of governments, corporations, the cancer establishment, the media, cultural barriers and the not unrelated lack of funding for groups who challenge the status quo.

THE CIRCLE, HOW WE LEARNED: We learned by talking, thinking, feeling and doing, starting from where each was in her own awareness and knowledge. We found that some of the most effective ways and means of educating ourselves and others included telling stories, sharing experiences, developing skills, producing materials, networking information and resources of all kinds. We used a wide variety of processes to draw out knowledge and analysis. These included conferences, community meetings, contributing ideas for the video, **Exposure**, then under way, a concert, art, contributing to Connections, the WNH&E newsletter and numerous other activities. We examined feminist strategies for action, new models in science, research and health policy, feminist economics, community health audits and other alternatives to conventional health promotion programs. We spoke to policy makers, made deputations, wrote letters, worked with educational institutions, multicultural communities, with labour and the Board of Health. We drew on women's ways of knowing in tapping into our motivations, hearts and minds, concerns for our children and grandchildren; concerns about health and the social impacts of illness like cancer on whole families.

We discussed what was useful, our frustrations and limitations and how we might have been more effective. We recognized that as we became more engaged with each other, we were energised to develop our knowledge base, confidence and organizing skills. Friendship, caring, camaraderie, networking and encouragement in each one's work became key beneficial aspects of our being together. We reflected the true meaning of "gossip" which means women telling stories, sharing information and planning activities around mutual concerns. In the beginning, we came together as concerned women in our early stages of analysis and advocacy. What was added was support, knowledge, encouragement and experience in our transformative process.

We promoted the "precautionary principle" which calls for consideration of "weight of evidence" of a problem rather than the demand for absolute scientific proof that a particular contaminant causes a specific condition. This principle states that if we are to err, it should be on the side of caution and that lack of full scientific certainty shall not be sufficient reason for postponing preventive or remedial measures (IJC, 1994 and 1996).

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WHAT WE LEARNED: We learned to identify institutionalized power relationships in order to integrate long term planning, educating and goal setting, while organizing and implementing immediate campaigns. We learned about linking different oppressions, of the needs and values of immigrant and other cultural communities and about new issues. Race, class, culture and gender issues were raised frequently. There were often references by all of us to the marginalization we felt as women. We also noted historical and current environmental injustice to indigenous peoples and the need to listen to their values relating to the earth and seven generations hence. Examples of our learning included one woman integrating her cultural and ecological values to become actively engaged in prevention in cultural communities; one developing her knowledge and skills in her work with the Multiracial Network for Environmental Justice (MNEJ); another becoming strengthened and empowered to organize a major conference and to foray into scientific circles and breast cancer organizations; another in the development and sharing of her professional journalistic and media skills with all of us; another in skills development in popular adult education processes regarding health and primary prevention; and together as a group, learning how to better incorporate them into our work, in particular with popular adult educational workshops with the film, **Exposure**. We had moments of emotional highs and lows, in the latter case, where we learned how despair, grief and anger can be confronted, experienced and creatively channelled into new energy and creativity. This was demonstrated in our learning about working with breast cancer survivors. We also learned that it is important to find and engage good people in the establishment medical community and encourage them work from within in whatever ways are best for their particular organization or institution.

SOME KEY OUTCOMES AND AREAS FOR FUTURE WORK (some are both):

Thinking of primary prevention and alternatives together, seeing the use of complementary and or indigenous medicine (detoxification and building up the immune system with essiac, herbal, vitamins etc.) are seen as challenging the status quo. However, we felt that while people are looking at their diets and taking supplements, by the same token they need to take the next step, ask why the toxins are there in the first place and examine the way we grow our food and process it. Some highlights from 'Beyond the Questions' included One: learning and praxis for primary prevention with women living with breast cancer, including those in cultural communities. It emphasized prevention of recurrence and learning holistic approaches beginning with practical things they can do in their own lives when they are emotionally ready, and refraining from mixing support and advocacy at the same time; Two: the collective process of creating the resource guide, Taking Action for a Healthy Future (to accompany the video, **Exposure: Environmental Links to Breast Cancer**). This encompassed a community screening of the roughcut of the video with small group brainstorming ideas for content, the circle reviewing these findings, and their final editorial approval. This process was followed by the development of "Training Trainers" Workshops with the film to help build skills and confidence to enable people in diverse communities become "multipliers" for the personal and policy work needed; Three: promotion of the Recommendations of the Ontario Task Force Report on the Primary Prevention of Cancer, a document central to our work. Its recommendations included advocacy toward policy change, with which any group can become familiar such as creating a broader community including health professionals, politicians and social movement actors to engage in these concerns with decision makers.

More research is needed on: synergistic combinations of toxins in food and the environment, including past fallout from nuclear weapons testing all compromising the immune system; immune system related conditions such as fibromyalgia, chronic fatigue, childhood diseases; more about EMFs and the potential effects on the tamoxifen treatments being given to women with breast cancer; public accountability. Community based research needs to be encouraged and legitimized among scientists so that their findings can be utilized in prevention policy and remediation; a meta analysis of all available research on environmental carcinogens is needed to inform mainstream medicine of government sponsored research on environmental links to various diseases. Despite electronic communication, there are many health professionals who are not familiar with the work of the International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC) of the World Health Organization and many others who are in the vanguard of this field. Education is needed in teachers's colleges; high schools; health organizations; medical

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and nursing school curricula; Cancer Care Ontario, policy makers; labour; anti-racism groups (environmental justice), medical journalists; work on economic literacy ie. encouragement of mutual funds in ethical investments for RRSP's rather than corporate polluters; to transfer funds to credit unions where possible to support community initiatives; to stop corporate polluters and pressure for change to be worker positive.

The activities of the circle were not seen as specific recipes for feminist transformation, rather they were examples of opportunities for praxis. It is hoped that this study can contribute to transformative learning from feminist perspectives on primary prevention; the understanding of some findings of a feminist participatory research process; and a sense of how social movements can be more effective toward these ends. As many of these relationships are still in formative stages, further work is needed to develop such integrative transformative learning on health.

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Good Work!
Redefining Academic Values
from a Critical Feminist Perspective

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This paper outlines a critical feminist perspective in adult education that acknowledges the importance of women's experiences and proposes a broader definition of "good work" in academia.

Cette papier describe un feministe critical prospectif en l'education des adultes que reconnaise l'importance des experiences femmes et propose le grande definition pour "bien travaille" en academe.

We are still at the beginning stages of trying to articulate a critical feminist perspective in the field of adult education. Feminist researchers argue that women's perspectives in adult education have been inadequately addressed (Burstow, 1994), and their historical contributions to the discipline have been overlooked (Hugo, 1990). Even when studies in adult education focus on women's experiences, women students are often treated as being somehow "deficient" (Hayes & Smith, 1994). Within academia, women are less likely than their male couterparts to obtain a doctorate (Vezina, 1998). They are less successful than men in academic publishing (Hayes & Smith, 1994), and still overrepresented in the lower ranks in academia (Caplan, 1994). While some progress has been made over the last couple of decades, it is clear that women have still not achieved equal status or recognition in the field of adult education. To understand why these gendered differences in experience exist, we need to look beyond individual circumstances to the systemic structures and underlying value system that prioritizes predominantly masculine values and a marketplace agenda. We need to challenge the narrow, competitive values that have gained ascendency in both academia and the field of adult education to develop a more inclusive perspective that values women's contributions.

The Marketplace

A number of recent critical analyses provide valuable insights into the pervasive influence of the marketplace on education (Barrett, 1996; Collins, 1991, Hart, 1992, Welton, 1995). Increasingly, adult education and academic discourses are sprinkled with terms that draw parallels between students as "customers" or "clients", academic institutions and adult education programs as "services" and "products", and the criteria for academic excellence is increasingly being driven by terms such as "accountability", "efficiency" and the "bottom line".

Some educators and administrators enthusiastically embrace this focus in education, arguing that there will be financial benefits, monetary spin-offs, and societal satisfaction with education that is sensitive to marketplace concerns (Downey, 1996). With diminishing government funding, greater attention to alternative sources of funding is perceived as a practical and sensible focus (Ryan & Heim, 1997). Government support for lifelong education programs are often linked with potential employment and economic benefits (Shipley, 1997).

Critical educators challenge this approach to education as being too narrow. The

potential for education to develop individuals as citizens, and to enhance individual quality of life is often overlooked in marketplace discourses. Democratic values, issues of inclusion, and equality issues are generally not taken up when the curriculum focuses primarily on employment concerns (Barrett, 1996). As a recent United Nations report notes, education is increasingly being used to create a broader gap between the haves and have-nots in our world (Delors, 1996). Education becomes another commodity, whereby those with purchasing power are able to situate themselves advantageously to compete against others. This competitive, marketplace approach to education is one that demands losers in order to establish winners.

Critical Theory

Critical theory provides a useful framework to begin an analysis of the consequences of this narrow, individualistic approach to adult education. Drawing upon Habermas's theory of Communicative Action, Welton argues that the "system" (the economic/political structure) is threatening to undermine the "lifeworld"(the communicatively shaped sphere of community, church and family). This can be seen in the professionalization influence in education (Collins, 1991), the unwillingness of some educators to assess different moral values and consequences (Hart, 1992), and in the breakdown of communicative discourse (Welton, 1995).

To challenge this influence in education, critical educators suggest that adult educators need to work to develop communicative spaces where education can assume its transformative potential (Mezirow, 1991). Welton advocates civil society as a forum for development, arguing that it embodies communicative principles and is "beginning to reframe the way we see the changing configuration of state, economy, and the social sector (1997, p. 188). Collins proposes that adult educators need to recapture a sense of vocation, to move towards a communicative educational framework. Working within this context, "adult education as a vocation [is] concerned with nurturing egalitarian values and commitments" (1991, p. 49). These theorists suggest that the Habermasian theoretical framework can provide insights into developing more democratic and dialogical opportunities for adult educators.

Feminist Theory

Feminist theorists are often critical of the influence of the marketplace as well. Their interpretation differs, however, in that they link masculinity with the pervasive influence of the marketplace. Some feminists have suggested that one of the weaknesses of critical theorists of the Frankfurt school is that they do not recognize that their critique of society is in fact a critique of a society largely determined by male values (Gore, 1992; Luke, 1992).

A number of feminists argue that we need to develop an alternative approach to education, that is more holistic and life-centred. Mechthild Hart draws upon the concept of motherwork, to outline a different attitude towards education that centres upon life affirming approaches to understanding the world. Hart believes that capitalist goals of profit and accumulation serve to deplete our natural resources, and devalue the importance of subsistence labour. She writes that "subsistence producers are the ones whose labour and production is directly oriented towards life - its creation, sustenance, and improvement" (1992, p. 95). Angela Miles also argues for the need to develop an integrative form of feminism, that emphasizes the richness and diversity of women's experiences, while presenting a challenge to the dominant

value system. She writes that "life-centred feminist visions are thus grounded in alternative values whose very enunciation requires the re-definition of key concepts such as work, value, wealth, development and humanity" (1988, p. 256).

"Good Work" in Academia

A clear example of the narrow, linear approach to education that is characterized by a masculine, marketplace understanding of the purposes of education, can be seen in how "good work" is assessed within academia. Feminist scholars have pointed out that women are consistently marginalized within the field of adult education, and continue to experience discrimination in university settings. Women are less likely to complete a doctorate degree (Venzina, 1998), less likely to be published (Hayes & Smith, 1994), less likely to be promoted to higher ranks in the universities (Caplan, 1994), and less likely to have their works cited by other writers (Burstow, 1994). Although the majority of students in adult education programs are women, leadership in the field remains predominantly male (Burstow, 1994). Women faculty are often located in untenured, part-time or contract positions (Dagg, 1998). Women in academia are often excluded from informal networking opportunities, and "have little access to female models or mentors" (Bagilhole, 1993, p. 437). How can we understand the structural barriers that exist which serve to keep women from "succeeding" at the same level as their male colleagues?

By taking a critical feminist approach, I argue that we can challenge the current assessment for "good work" in academia which prizes a singular focus on one's academic work, at the expense of other commitments in the individual's life. The words "commitment" and "productivity" are generally defined within a masculine, marketplace framework. The "committed" employee is one who follows the capitalist agenda for a worker, in prioritizing company goals over personal life responsibilities. A "committed" academic is one who focuses almost all of his/her time on academic work. For this reason, people who attend school on a part-time basis, who take time out of their academic career to focus on family, or who give priority to the needs of their children, are not as "committed" as other academics.

In the same way as "productive" employees are those who are most effective at creating a profit for their workplace, "productive" academics are those who establish a high profile as researchers for their institutions. "Productivity" becomes narrowly defined by the publication of academic articles in refereed journals and the capacity to obtain research grants. Teaching, mentoring and counseling students is not recognized as productive labour (Litner, Rossiter, & Taylor, 1992). Raising children and attending to family needs are concerns that are treated as incidental and inconsequential (rather than as primary productive work). These goals are often perceived to be detrimental, because they divert one's focus from traditional academic work. Because this work is so devalued in the academic sphere, women are often reluctant to raise it as an issue (Caplan, 1994). Some female academics take on the mindset of their male peers, being critical of hiring young women as they may take maternity leaves (Bagilhole, 1993), and unsympathetic to women who take time off to tend to their sick children(Fisher-Lavell, 1988).

Critical Feminist Approach

A critical feminist approach is one that draws upon both critical and feminist theory to challenge the dominant discourse in adult education that asserts the primacy of marketplace

values. It challenges the masculine values that advocate a singular focus on the workplace, and overlooks the importance of lifeworld issues that have always formed a central component in women's lives.

Mary Catherine Bateson (1989) argues that women have always had to deal with complexity in their lives, because of the numerous demands placed upon their time. She argues that in a word that is becoming increasing diverse and complex, this aspect of women's lives should come to be seen as a strength, rather than as a deterrent. Instead of prizing a singular, linear focus on world, there is a need for all of us to become more aware of how our actions in one sphere impact upon other aspects of the world around us. If educators can focus on the needs of their own families and children without threat of reprisal, they will be comfortable with being more attuned to the needs and interests of their students who may also have family responsibilities. They may also explore and become aware of the important potential for informal types of learning that take place in the homeplace. To take this approach would help provide a balance for the dominant marketplace discourses, that tend to place priority on profit over life (Hart, 1992). It would lead to a more holistic approach to education, that affirms the value of lived experience in both male and female contexts.

Litner, Rossiter, and Taylor (1992) argue that we need to develop a more inclusive teaching practice where women are encouraged to speak of their experiences, and to develop analysis by comparing what they know in their daily lives and what they are taught in the academic setting. Adult educators have a long history of advocating the importance of recognizing that learners are able to bring a great deal to the classroom from their personal lived experiences. We need to acknowledge the strengths that women bring to academia in terms of relational qualities, life experiences, and different feminine viewpoints.

This would require the willingness of male and female educators to develop more dialogical opportunities. Critical theorists talk about the importance of being open to learning about other viewpoints (Collins, 1991; Welton, 1995). Often, however, there is resistance from male academics who are unwilling to move beyond their comfortable boundaries. As Burstow notes, many male faculty appear to be uncertain as to how to respond to feminist concerns. She points out, though, that "of course, it is in their interest to be confused, to not understand, just as it has always been in men's interests to not understand "just what it is that women want" (1994, p. 12). Feminists argue that male academics need to interrogate their own position of privilege, yet they are often resistant to the idea of having to spend time educating men, feeling that this is just another way women have to accommodate male interests (Burstow, 1994). In the same way, some feminists reject spending time reading research by male colleagues, feeling that they have already devoted enough of their lives to learning from a masculine perspective.

For a critical feminist perspective to emerge, both men and women would have to make a commitment to openness and the possibility of change. Taking this approach would mean reassessing lifeworld values, and challenging the existing educational framework that is modeled after the marketplace. Instead of women constantly having to model their behaviors in academia after that of their male colleagues (Bagilhole, 1993), a more balanced perspective could emerge where men also learn from what women have to contribute. We could come to validate diversity of lived experience, recognizing the value of divergent perspectives. In doing so, we may broaden the definition of "good work" in academia and adult education.

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Canadian and US Academic Adult Education (1917-1970): A Chronology and Conspectus of their Emergence

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This essay provides a chronology of the emergence of Canadian and US academic adult education (1917-1970), which indicates that this evolvement was particularly rapid after World War II. It also provides a historical conspectus of adult education's struggle for space and place as it developed programs in universities in the postwar period.

Introduction: The history of the emergence of Canadian and US academic adult education is a history of struggle for space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) in the university where adult education's traditional image as extension impeded attempts to build an image as a discipline. This traditional image, reflecting a historical field commitment to social education, relegated adult education to the realm of the remedial in the eyes of many academics across university disciplines in both countries (Kidd, 1956; Liveright, 1968). Despite this history of struggle, and perhaps because of it, academic adult education grew significantly during the years 1917-1970. This growth was most pronounced after World War II when there were more institutions, students, experimentation, and course offerings in higher adult education than ever before (Liveright, 1960; Selman, 1978).

I begin this essay with a chronology of the emergence of academic adult education (1917-1970) in Canadian and US universities. Then I provide a conspectus of adult education's struggle for space and place in the university in the post-World War II growth period. I take up program development in graduate adult education in the context of this struggle, and I reflect on issues and concerns shared by key academic adult educators working as postwar pioneering professionals in academe.

A Chronology of the Emergence of Canadian and US Academic Adult Education (1917-1970): A. A. Liveright (1960) described the period from 1940 to 1960 as tremendous growth years for higher adult education. Professional degree programs grew rapidly in number in Canada and the United States during this period (Selman, 1978; Verner, 1969). However, Coolie Verner (1964) qualified this growth. While colleges and universities were more involved in adult education, their programs were too traditional (insufficiently techno-scientized) and not conducive to meeting the broad range of contemporary adult educational needs in postindustrial times. He saw this as a barrier to the professionalization of adult education at a time when the enterprise remained on the periphery of higher education. The question of adult education's legitimacy in academe persisted, as did its increasing financial problems as it tried to meet diverse needs in the face of change. Nevertheless, a more professionalized kind of adult education did achieve presence in the university. As the number of graduate programs grew, academic adult educators worked to provide leadership and direction. There was an increase in research in adult education, most of it arising from program growth (Selman, 1978). Cyril O. Houle (1970) recorded that, by 1968, at least twenty universities in Canada and the United States offered a doctoral program in adult education, and "by January 1, 1969, 726 Ph. D.'s and Ed. D.'s in adult education had been awarded at North American universities" (p. 116). Adult education had found a home of sorts in the university.

Verner (1964) recounted that Teachers College, Columbia University, was apparently the first US university to develop a curriculum for the education of adult educators; it had offered a course on the education of immigrants in 1917. The term "adult education" was first included in the title of a university course at Columbia University in 1922 (Houle, 1964; Verner, 1964). Houle (1964) listed 1923-1926 as the birth years of the adult-education movement in the United States. He recounted that Columbia University created the first department of adult education in 1930 and, by 1931-1932, had developed curricula enabling it to offer graduate adult-education degrees. Verner (1964) added that Columbia conferred the first doctorate in adult education in 1935. Columbia's move into graduate adult education was followed by the establishment of programs at Ohio State University in 1931 and the University of Chicago in 1935 (Houle, 1964). The University of Chicago conferred its first doctorate in 1940 (Verner, 1964). While Syracuse University offered graduate study in adult education from 1936, a graduate degree-granting program was not initiated until 1951 under the guidance of Alexander Charters (Houle, 1964). By 1962, fifteen US universities offered full-scale graduate-degree programs in adult education (Houle, 1964). However, some universities without a specific adult-education program allowed students to specialize and write dissertations in the field. Thus, by the beginning of 1962, thirty US universities had awarded 323 doctorates in adult education (Verner, 1964).

Graduate adult education developed more slowly in Canada; special adult-education courses were provided periodically by different universities (Houle, 1964). Sir George Williams College gave the first undergraduate single-credit adult-education course in 1934 (Selman, 1995). By 1950, courses could be taken at Laval University, St. Francis Xavier University, Macdonald College, and Sir George Williams College (Kidd, 1950). At that time J. Roby Kidd advocated formal training for adult educators, noting that the Canadian Association of Adult Education had plans for a graduate adult-education program to be given at one or more universities. He described the uneven development of adult education in the country and the need for coordination at the community, regional, and national levels. The Ontario College of Education offered the first graduate course in 1951 (Selman, 1995). By 1957, seven universities were involved in academic adult education (Selman, 1995). Yet, Canada could only boast the existence of one full-scale graduate-degree program in adult education by the late 1950s. It began under the direction of Alan M. Thomas at the University of British Columbia in 1957, with the first graduate degree being granted in 1960 (Houle, 1964). However, Canadian adult education strengthened its sense of vocation in the 1950s, and academic adult education expanded in the 1960s amid emphases on training adult educators and institutional development (Selman & Dampier, 1991). In 1968 the University of Montréal became the first French Canadian university to offer an adult-education program (Selman, 1995). By 1970, seven Canadian universities offered graduate programs in adult education with the University of British Columbia (introduced in 1961), the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (introduced in 1965), and the University of Montréal (introduced in 1969) offering doctoral programs (Selman & Dampier, 1991).

A Conspectus of Adult Education's Struggle for Space and Place in the University: Extensive efforts to professionalize and techno-scientize modern practice marked the period following World War II in Canada and the United States. Many academic adult educators contributed substantially to these efforts in their desire to give

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the field a stronger profile in an emerging postwar world characterized by what Jameson (1991) has called all-pervasive cultural and economic transformations. However, conflict pervaded their initiatives. It was caught up in the tensions of an emerging modern practice walking the line between identifications as a field of study and a field of practice. It was also caught up in the tensions pitting adult education's postwar desire to belong to an increasingly techno-scientized university culture against its historical tendency to belong to the culture of the surrounding community where it served ordinary citizens.

Adult education's struggle for space and place occurred as the university itself experienced crises, which became pronounced in the 1950s and 1960s amid thoroughgoing economic and cultural ruptures that transformed the lifeworld (Jameson, 1991). Key questions were being asked about the role of the university: What was the university's responsibility to society, and specifically to the variously disadvantaged and powerless? What were the community's rights with respect to the university? How should the university relate to the surrounding community? These debates usually ended in calls for increased university involvement to address everyday life, learning, and work issues affecting citizen workers and learners. Of course, this involvement was problematic because a divide existed between university culture and the culture of the surrounding community. Yet universities were increasingly challenged to find a way to cross this divide. At the end of the 1960s, Granville D. Davis (1970) concluded, "Today, there can be no second-hand approach to society's ills; an epitaph can be ordered in advance for a discipline or an institution that looks upon its community as incidental or irrelevant" (p. 47). Was the university positioned to meet the needs of the community at this time? Nathan E. Cohen (1970) reflected:

> The university enters the challenge of the urban period unclear and divided as to its role and functions. It is no longer an integrated community with a single purpose and a common language. At its hub are the graduate schools with their emphasis on research and specialized graduate training. ... The hub has been attempting to pull the undergraduate programs and the professional schools into its vortex. At the same time, the nature of the urban condition and the problems of society in general are such that they are tugging both of these groups in an opposite direction. (p. 20)

It is interesting to consider that adult education, with its history as a community-based field of practice, was struggling to find space and place in academe at a time when the university itself was challenged to find an active space and place in the community. Perhaps academic adult education could have emerged as the university's link to the community. Yet it remained on the margins of academe for the very reason that it should have been welcomed: its history as extension. Still extension had connected adult education to the communities it served. With this social kind of expertise, adult education could have mediated attempts to connect the university to the community. However, academic adult educators were left struggling to find space in the university as the logical place to engage in research, professional development, community development, curriculum and materials development, and adult educational and career counseling (Haygood, 1970). Many of them responded by building an increasingly instrumentalized practice to enhance this space and place in light of the growing trend in the university to give increasing prominence to science and technology (Selman, 1978; Verner, 1969).

Program Development in Postwar Academic Adult Education: Academic adult educators took up a key question in their quest to build programs enabling the advancement of modern practice: What knowledge and practices should guide the development of academic adult education? Despite the growing demands of the emerging

techno-scientized culture, answers frequently transcended concerns with the instrumental. Paul Bergevin (1967), expressing a common concern of adult educators in the postwar period, asserted that theory and practice had to inform one another in graduate adult education. He believed that programs "should emphasize both broad and specific training in the skills of relationship with others, in communication, and in social, philosophical, and historical concepts affecting human conduct" (p. 62). Thomas (1958) located himself similarly when he described the development of the graduate adult-education program at the University of British Columbia. He stated that this program gave precedence to "the political, economic, and social implications of adult education, and the problems of power and responsibility that arise" (p. 341). Thomas concluded that two needs had to be met to develop programs in graduate adult education. First, there was the need to address "the imposition of the habitual format of the University on material which in its very nature must challenge the ... organization of knowledge" (p. 341). Second, there was the need to consider student clientele and the community as core elements in program development. His first point intimated that traditional university methods and techniques were not always conducive to the design of adult education. His second point suggested that the individual and the social were complementary emphases in the education of adults. Thomas recognized that adult education had a diverse clientele who required a worldly education. Adult learners needed programs where theory, research, and practice were engaged to meet individual and group needs in the local community and beyond.

While Liveright (1964) concurred with Bergevin and Thomas, he believed that it was neither possible nor desirable to set out specifically the organization or content of graduate adult education in some fixed and inclusive sense. The diverse nature of adult education was a major factor inhibiting the setting of common aims and objectives that would identify competencies for graduate programs and entrance into them:

> The fact that practitioners of adult education ... vary so in the organizations and institutions they represent, their tasks and responsibilities, background, prior education and training, and the fact that they hold such differing images of the field, has special implications for a graduate program. (Liveright, 1964, p. 94)

Nevertheless, Liveright felt it was possible to give at least a general depiction of what constituted graduate studies in the field. Verner (1964) provided such a depiction in his summary of core courses undergirding many established graduate programs in Canadian and US adult education. They included (a) a survey course serving as an introduction to the field; (b) a foundations course investigating the philosophical, social, historical, and psychological foundations of adult education; (c) a program planning course looking at connections between adult learning and program design; (c) a process course studying connections between adult learning and method, device, and technique; (d) a community-study course connecting adult education to the social needs of the community and examining how adult education functions in community institutions; and, (e) field work involving a practicum where theory and principles learned in graduate study are applied to community adult-education programs.

Yet Liveright knew that such a depiction neither solidified nor entrenched academic adult education's status as a discipline designed to train professional adult educators. Houle (1964) agreed. He attested to adult education's identity as something less than a discipline when he listed diverse concerns intimating the under-structured and diffuse nature of graduate adult education in the 1960s. First, no clearly delineated and universally accepted outlines of study existed. Second, an inadequate research base

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hampered professional enterprise development. Third, no foundation in undergraduate study was in place to prepare practitioners whose first orientation to adult education was at the graduate level. Fourth, insufficient funds for fellowships limited access to graduate programs. Fifth, graduate adult-education programs were often part of faculties of education where they were overly reliant on established courses geared to public education. Sixth, the formal organization of graduate adult education lacked a clear identity in universities where programs ranged from recognized specialties to programs that were subsets of larger concentrations like educational foundations to programs divided up among several fields.

Concluding Perspective: While universities tended to give little space and place to it, and while program development in graduate adult education was still in metamorphosis, adult education did make inroads into academe during the years 1917-1970. In the 1960 US handbook of adult education, Liveright claimed that the growth of higher adult education was the enterprise's most pervasive characteristic. He related that higher adult education pursued two main goals as it worked to ensconce learning as a lifelong process: (a) to conduct vocational training and (b) to engage in continuing education for civic responsibility and individual growth and development. In pursuing these goals, Liveright offered four challenges to academic adult educators: (a) to measure their success in training other adult educators, (b) to develop further methods and techniques, (c) to continue building a field knowledge base, and (d) to conduct research focused primarily on practice. He hoped that meeting these challenges would enable academic adult education to increase its space and place in the university.

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EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING: WHO BENEFITS—WHO LOSES?

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Abstract: The experiential capital students derive from co-op is a scarce commodity, which demands a high rate of exchange on the labour market. But, co-op programs employ restrictive access for admission and for access to workplace learning opportunities. The shift to élite provision effectively reverses the intent of its founding philosophy and does little to improve the prospects of disadvantaged students.

Resume: Le capital expérientiel que les étudiants obtiennent du régime coopératif est un produit rare qui impose un taux d'échange élevé sur le marché du travail. Mais, les régimes coopératifs emploient un accés aux possibilités d'apprentissage en milieu de travail. Le changement vers une disposition d'élite renverse le but visé de sa philosophie fondatrice, et ne puisse pas faire grande chose pour améliorer les perspectives des étudiants défavorisés.

Never in Canada's 130-year history, have business leaders, politicians, educators and union bosses been so worried about the widening gap between the skills workers have, and the skills industry needs (PEM, 1997).

Introduction

We are at a crossroads in the Canadian system of higher education. Our universities are not adequately meeting the goal of producing literate young adults, capable of functioning as responsible citizens and workers. Partly this is because our institutions offer undergraduate programs based on a traditional disciplinary model, that provides disciplinary depth at the expense of educational breadth. Consider the following. The curriculum in most undergraduate disciplines, particularly upper-level courses, concentrates on specialized interests. The skills taught are largely those necessary to conduct research or professional practice in one particular field. This is of direct benefit to the minority of students who go on to graduate study. But, the majority of students graduate into an uncertain and rapidly-changing workplace, where research-skills are valued only by a limited number of employers, and competition for positions is fierce.

In the past, employers looked for employees with a strong work ethic, who would show up regularly and put in 'a good days work for a good days pay.' Today, global competition and structural economic change have dramatically altered the way in which hiring decisions are made. Employers now look for 'human capital', in the form of employees with the type of skills and abilities that reduce their 'time-to-productivity.' Creative-critical thinking and problem-solving skills—essential to innovation. Communication and team-work skills—to fit into, rather than disrupt, the current workplace context. Functional literacy—to exploit advances in technology. And an ability to transfer knowledge to other employees within the firm—thereby contributing to a culture of continuous learning in the workplace, and ratcheting up the competence and productivity of all employees.

But where can employers find such individuals? How do they ensure they have reliable information on which to base hiring decisions? Theories of human capital suggest that employers use certain levels of schooling as a way to screen prospective employees (Arrow, 1973; Becker, 1975;Mincer, 1989). Weiss (1995) argues employers also use education as a 'sorting' model; that is, as a proxy for unobserved attributes of the applicant. But screening by education is no longer enough. Employers are becoming increasingly distrustful of traditional academic credentials (Rafiullah & Rosenbaum, 1996). In addition, they now screen for indicators that prospective employees, once hired, will quickly add value to a company. Two such indicators currently receiving attention are previous experience in a closely related field, and possession of 'rare' or in-demand skills .

In a tradition-bound higher education system which emphasizes academics over vocational training, how can university students gain relevant experience and develop in-demand skills? The traditional system is more concerned with delivering disciplinary basics. We must look elsewhere for relevance. A solution might be found in cooperative education (co-op). One of the demonstrated benefits of co-op programs is that the combination of

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academic preparation and work experience ensures education is relevant to employment. This is clearly evidenced by the number of co-op graduates who find continuing employment in their chosen fields (Allen, 1996; Canada, 1996). Relevance also renders skills *portable*—an important consideration at a time when the workforce is at its greatest-ever level of mobility.

Co-op Explained

Co-op education combines classroom and workplace learning using an alternating program to move students between each context. Co-op students are able to operationalize academic knowledge through relevant, paid, work experiences with discipline-specific employers. They then bring their on-the-job learning back to the classroom for further analysis and reflection. In its most basic form, a co-op program allows students to spend a semester in the classroom developing theoretical knowledge, followed by a semester in the workplace implementing theory and developing skills in practical application, before returning once again to the classroom to engage in further academic study. This alternating cycle between classroom and workplace continues for the duration of the undergraduate program. Students are paid 'market rates' while on work placement with employers. Upon successful completion of the requirements for a degree, students graduate with an additional 'Co-op Designation' signifying a base of discipline-specific experience. Co-op programs may be either voluntary or mandatory.

Canadian universities are expanding co-op programs, combining adult education traditions in classroom-based learning with experiential learning in the workplace. This type of alternation education creates continuous contextualized learning. It also enables students to develop much sought after discipline-specific experience. Co-op may open new options for adult learning and provide an alternative to the failed Canadian apprenticeship system. Supporters argue that co-op provides opportunities for students who might otherwise be denied access to higher education. Critics view it as a process whereby individual students are screened to feed the production needs of business and industry. Regardless of how it is viewed, questions are raised. Do co-op programs meet the *general* education needs of students as well as providing employability skills? Does co-op reinforce existing structural inequities in society, or resist them as intended?

This paper addresses these questions using data from a recently completed study of co-op education at a major Canadian university. The theoretical entry point is a model of "capital accumulation." Human capital theory is the container. In it are embedded the cultural and social capitals (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990) through which co-op students are able to accumulate experiential and intellectual capital. I will provide evidence that co-op students derive specific benefits from their education that are not readily available to non-co-op students. I will also argue that 'deep-level learning' (Engeström, 1994; Marton, Hounsel, & Entwistle, 1997), results from continuous transferability between educational and workplace contexts in structured co-op programs .

The benefits attributed to co-op education are real—co-ops get better jobs (Petryszak & Toby, 1989), get them faster (Gardner & Koslowski, 1993; Wessels & Pumphrey, 1995), make more money (Somers, 1995), and tend to be more satisfied with their jobs (Allen, 1996). However, there is disturbing evidence that, despite its history as a social equalizer, co-op is becoming an élite program (Grosjean, 1999).

The Study

While most universities and university colleges in British Columbia offer co-op programs, at Coast University (a pseudonym) co-op permeates the ethos of the institution. The co-op programs I studied at Coast were selected according to the following criteria: 1) well established in terms of longevity, and growth in placements over the years; 2) whether the program was a mandatory or voluntary co-op; 3) evidence of a clearly defined labour market for students in the program; and 4) if the program could broadly conform to one of the four main categories of knowledge domains that underpin academic disciplinary cultures: hard/pure, hard/applied, soft/pure, and soft/applied (Becher, 1989). I used a nested case study method (Merriam, 1988; Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994) combining qualitative (interviews) and quantitative (survey) techniques.

The student survey was administered to selected classes of 2nd, 3rd, and 4th year students (both co-op and non-co-op) in Business, Chemistry, Engineering, and Geography. Demographic information was gathered on gender, age, ethnic origin, background work experience, reasons for enrolling in university, and satisfaction with certain components of the university experience. Students were also able to volunteer for interview. The survey was

administered during regular class time and collected directly. Of the 1,040 survey forms distributed, 1012 were complete and usable, for an adjusted return rate of 97.3 %. Interviews were conducted with the instructors of each of the classes surveyed to provide insights into the classroom context.

In order to capture students away from the university on work terms, the survey was conducted in two waves. Following each wave, in-depth interviews (n=45) were conducted with co-op students from selected programs, chosen from those who had volunteered on the survey. Non co-op students were not interviewed. Responses to open-ended interview questions were analyzed and combined with survey data to construct a picture of the co-op student's experience. Interviews were also conducted with co-op coordinators from each of the programs, directors of co-op, and senior administrators from the university.

Results

The preliminary results reported here briefly describe the total sample (i.e. co-op and non-co-op). I discuss students' reasons for enrolling, and their satisfaction with their program. Differences between co-op and non-co-op experiences are reported. The implications of restricted entry to co-op are made explicit. The results are then discussed in the context of the theoretical framework outlined above.

Who Are the Students, and Where do They Come From?

Of the students participating in the survey, 62% are male and 38% female. One-quarter (26%) are eighteen to twenty years of age, 36% are twenty-one to twenty-two, and 25% are twenty-three to twenty-five, and 13% are older. Coast University draws students from throughout the province as well as other parts of Canada. More than two-thirds of study participants (68.5%) relocated to attend Coast.

Why do Students Enroll in University?

Students have individual reasons for enrolling in university programs. Participants in this study cited the following: general self-improvement (92%); in-depth knowledge of a field of study (93%); chance of improved income after graduation (95%); to acquire job skills (91%). Rated lower was the opportunity to gain a broad liberal education (71%), and more than three-quarters of all students (77%), were seeking career direction and enrolled to find out what they would enjoy doing. Slightly more than one-half (57%) enrolled at Coast University specifically to participate in a co-op program.

Do students have work experience when they enroll?

More than one-half of all students (57%) worked before entering university. They had different motivations for seeking employment. Some worked for money to pay university tuition (68%), others saw it as an opportunity to gain work experience (67%), while some (39%) worked to make money for travel, or to take a vacation before enrolling in university. Only about one-third of students (34%) report that the work they performed was related to their current field of study.

Is the experience of co-op and non-co-op students different?

Co-op students follow a structured articulation between the classroom and the work term, enhancing their skills and learning about the world of work. Non-co-op students must arrange this type of experience individually. While attending university slightly more than one-half (51%) of non-co-op students also worked part-time. A much larger number (88%), engaged in summer employment. While these jobs provided an introduction to the workplace, and financial compensation, only 28% of non-co-op students found part-time and summer work related to their field of study.

Development of Skills, Knowledge and Opportunities for the Workplace

To discover whether university programs equip students with the skills, knowledge, and opportunities needed to succeed in the labour market, students were asked to rate their programs. Table 1 below contains the results of co-op/non-co-op comparisons of these ratings.

Table 1: Skills, Knowledge or Opportunity

	Co-op %		Non-Co-op %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Independent Thinking Skills	84.3	88.9	91.0	92.3
Decision Making Skills	82.1	88.9	76.6	80.7
Writing Skills	62.0	75.3	64.8	66.9
Speaking Skills	56.1	70.1	42.7	49.3
Teamwork Skills	85.3	88.1	65.5	71.5
Leadership Skills	58.4	54.6	38.0	49.2
Specific Job Skills	68.9	67.3	54.5	54.6
Self-Improvement	81.4	83.7	86.9	88.5
In-Depth Knowledge	89.3	87.3	91.7	90.8
Information on Jobs	71.8	68.5	46.2	41.6
Meet Potential Employers	76.6	64.9	21.4	23.1
Chance of Good Income	93.2	85.7	70.4	76.1
Labour Market Information	62.8	59.3	33.1	29.2

It is evident from Table 1 that co-op students to a greater extent than non-co-ops, develop teamwork, leadership, decision-making, speaking, and job specific skills; receive information on jobs in the field; have an opportunity to meet potential employers, develop the potential of earning a good income; and obtain current information on the labour market.

Discussion

Much of the difference in skill development between co-ops and non-co-ops can be explained by the co-op work term. For example, co-op students develop teamwork skills by working on project teams during their work terms. Senior co-op students are often given responsibility for a project while on their work term, thereby developing leadership skills. Decision-making skills and speaking skills are part of the reporting process during the work term. That co-op students develop specific job skills is understandable when one considers they have an opportunity to 'try out' their skills on successive work terms as they progress through their program.

Because of terms spent in the workplace co-op students have a substantially greater opportunity to obtain current information on jobs in the field, and to meet potential employers. For many co-op students the networks established during these work terms (social capital) prove beneficial during the transition from university to the labour market.

Another advantage that co-op students derive from their program is financial. They are paid 'market rates' while on their work terms. They develop an understanding of the exchange rates (labour for money) of particular jobs and skill categories, while they are accumulating industry-specific experience (experiential capital). Then, by selecting subsequent courses of study they can develop expertise in areas of high, or 'rare' skill demand placing themselves in a position to command an enhanced income upon graduation.

It is also not surprising that co-op students are nearly twice as likely as non-co-ops to have access to, and benefit from knowledge of, changes in the current labour market. The alternating structure of the co-op program enables them to closely monitor changes in labour market trends. Non-co-op students, on the other hand, might begin their studies expecting to find a career job upon graduation only to find that the market has changed and 'good jobs' in their area of specialization no longer exist. An example can be seen in the rapid decline of jobs in the natural resource industries in B.C.. Current and constant contact with the labour market provides co-op students with a decided advantage over their non-co-op counterparts in the competition for good jobs.

Continuous Contextualized Learning

It has become broadly accepted that learning, as a cognitive function, is context dependent. The basis of learning then becomes internalization, the transformation of material actions into mental actions. 'Meaningful' learning occurs when new knowledge merges with and transforms former knowledge, resulting in a higher quality of knowledge. Accepting that learning is context-dependent, co-op students have opportunities not available to traditional students—they experience learning in both the classroom and workplace contexts. More importantly, through the structure of the co-op program, which requires reflection and praxis, students transfer their learning between contexts, providing continuous learning, which leads to 'deep-level' learning and relevant education.

Structured Transitions

Given today's emerging information-oriented society, fundamental changes are needed in both the educational and occupational systems to help persons make the transition from schooling to employment. Co-op students are required to complete a number of discipline-specific work terms in order to graduate with the co-op designation. Each work term provides an opportunity to determine the current state of the market for the various branches of their discipline, and determine where there is a scarcity of skills and qualifications. They can then adjust their courses to gain qualifications in areas of high demand. This situates them to be able to convert the cultural capital embedded in these scarce qualifications into economic capital, enabling them to obtain well-paying jobs quickly upon graduation.

Non-co-op students, on the other hand, might spend their entire time in university with little access to the discipline-specific market. Upon graduation, they may find that their investments of time and effort in obtaining the qualification are less profitable than expected. Changes in the market conversion rate between academic and economic capital can occur, brought about by changes in demand for specific skills and qualifications.

Regulation of Entry to Co-op

For many students, entering co-op is seen as an investment in human capital. For example, a female engineering student was certain that a co-op designation, combined with "relevant experience gained on work terms," would launch her career. A female business student switched from science to business because of the perception of a large number of unemployed science graduates, and the belief that a co-op accounting degree "would provide greater opportunities for stable employment." Or consider the male engineering student who felt certain that graduating from the co-op program would enhance his degree and "provide him with skills which would make him more attractive to future employers."

Students acknowledge the level of screening by grades (GPA) for entry into co-op programs.

> They are taking only the people who have a high academic average which may in one sense be interpreted as these people would be successful anyway.
>
> I know a lot of people wanted to get into co-op and couldn't. And a lot people just barely squeaked in and basically, they didn't get very good jobs. They were kind of given the left-overs.

Corroborating evidence for students' claims of screening by GPA can be found in a recent institutional survey of undergraduates at Coast University (Office of Institutional Analysis, 1999). These results indicate that one-half (50%) of co-op students graduated from post-secondary school with an average of more than 85%, compared with one-third for non-co-op students. This difference is especially pronounced at the highest academic level, with more than 21% of co-op students graduating with an average above 90%, compared with less than 10% for non-co-ops.

Because of the GPA ratcheting-up effect, co-op can be perceived as an increasingly élite program, with access limited to those with sufficient levels of academic and cultural capital. The institution, represented by the co-op coordinator, is situated in the role of gatekeeper. One student summed it up thus: "the good work terms are given to those students who have good grades." Because of their position as gatekeepers, coordinators can be easily construed as misusing their power. Certainly, student comments indicate at least the potential for abuse.

Concluding Comments

The preliminary results of this study indicate that co-op students derive specific benefits from their education that are not readily available to non-co-op students. In particular, co-op students benefit to a greater extent than non-co-ops, from the development of teamwork, leadership, decision-making, speaking and job specific skills. They receive more information on jobs in the field, better opportunity to meet potential employers, more chance of a good income, and current information on the labour market. The results also indicate that through repeated excursions into the discipline-specific workplace, co-op students come to understand the need for continuing education and begin to develop the habits of lifelong learning. At the same time, they accumulate relevant work experience and develop a network of contacts to assist their transition from university to the world of work. And by combining classroom and workplace learning, using an alternating program to move between each context, co-op students are able to engage in continuous contextualized learning which leads to 'deep-level learning.' However, the positive outcomes of co-op may be compromised by increasingly restrictive access, and the development of élite status, which erodes social equity.

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The Emancipatory Potential of "Community Arts": In Search of Three-Dimensionality[1]

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Adult educator Elizabeth Murray and her colleagues in Nova Scotia (from 1946 until the late 1960s) considered the performing arts to be essential animating components of community development. Although justifications for this were not clearly articulated at the time, Jurgen Habermas' concepts of human interests and of communicative action throw an important light on people's potential, with the arts as part of their everyday lives, to realize their own emancipatory powers.

Elizabeth Murray, spécialiste dans l'enseignement aux adultes, et ses collègues (de 1946 jusqu'à la fin des années 60) considéraient les arts de la scéne comme des éléments essentiels au développement de la communauté. Bien que les fondements théoriques d'une telle position n'aient pas été explicitées à cette époque, nous constatons que le concept d'intérêt humain et de la théorie de la communication de Jürgen Habermas révèlent la potentialité des gens, soulignant l'importance des arts comme activité quotidienne, pour réaliser leurs pouvoirs d'émancipation.

Elizabeth Murray (1917-1996), a well-known school teacher, choral director, and community animateur, in 1946 became the first field worker for Nova Scotia's newly formed Division of Adult Education. She and her colleagues in adult education inherited a rich history of social action from the momentum of the Antigonish Movement, the Danish folkschool tradition, and the values of the Social Gospel. Their primary purpose was to address the economic, social, and cultural needs of rural men and women as identified by the people themselves. They accomplished this through a series of residential folkschools and community short courses where large study sessions were followed by small discussion groups and which led, eventually, to cooperative action.

Parallel projects carried out by the Division and other adult agencies focussed on the arts. These included travelling libraries and exhibitions of paintings, residential schools for "community" arts, a provincial Festival of the Arts, and short courses, each of which was designed to enhance the performing arts and artistic leadership within communities. Why were the arts considered essential to community renewal--not only by artists like Murray but also by other members of the Division who had not experienced the arts firsthand? In this paper, the emancipatory potential of the arts is viewed through a Habermasian lens that considers human interests in technical progress, in "undistorted communication" (Habermas, 1984), and in "emancipation" (Habermas, 1971). As in the past, the arts are shown to be of fundamental importance to the search for personal and social identity, the expression of culture, and the identification of social problems and solutions.

My argument builds on a five-year ethnography and life-history of Murray and her educational projects. The study involved archival searches, more than 90 interviews, and three summers in which I took part in Murray's annual plays-with-music, performed by the people of Tatamagouche in celebration of their own history. My focus here is on assumptions, shared by Betty Murray and her colleagues in Adult Education, about the pivotal role of the arts.

A Habermasian Theory of Knowledge

Habermas, in the tradition of the Frankfurt School, builds his theories on a widely interdisciplinary foundation including philosophy, sociology, psychology, and art. For Habermas (1971), learning takes place in relationship to people's specific interests which, for analytical

purposes, can be outlined in three general categories. First, there are *scientific-technical* interests, by which people desire to control and manipulate their material environment. Then there are the *practical-hermeneutic interests, which motivate people* to communicate with others in building a common understanding of "reality". We may speak of this as the impetus for a mutual construction of meaning. The third category of interest, and the focus of this paper, is *emancipatory and aesthetic*. When this interest is aroused and fulfilled, people seek and find greater freedom from the oppressive domination of others--from individuals and/or from the imperatives of an increasingly rationalized and bureaucratized society (or system). They do this through self-reflective discourse and artistic expression, and/or a combination of the two. Each person's engagement with one or more of the interest levels leads to his or her particular "taken-for-granted definitions and understandings of the world that give coherence and direction to everyday actions and interactions" (Welton, 1995, p. 141). This Habermas refers to as the life-world (*Lebenswelt*).

In his later work, Habermas (esp. 1984) concentrates on the latter two categories of human interest, elaborating on and refining requirements for enhanced communication within the life-world, and on the moral need for emancipation in which people free themselves from the more limiting aspects of their highly rationalized existence. He does this, first, by presenting conditions of communication that, if they are to lead to liberation, must be reciprocal, shared, and based on mutual understanding. They must be non-coercive and non-distortive, with the only force that of the better argument tempered by conditions of clarity, truth, justified warrants, and sincerity.

Much of the liberatory promise of art, and its link with an expanded life-world of communicative meaning, inheres in its problematizing of everyday reality. It challenges the perspectives we hold as normal and natural concerning each new situation. Our life-world at any given moment provides us with the structures through which we experience "reality". The kind of experiences that Habermas (1991) holds to be authentic, and liberating, are "possible only to the extent that the categories of the patterned expectations of organized daily experience collapse ... and the nomality of foreseeable and accountable certainties are suspended" (p. 200). As Gadamer (1993) points out that, if we want to understand the meaning of another, we must remain open to that person, and not cling blindly to our own point-of-view–our own "fore-meaning"(pp. 268-269). Art, in always presenting the new, pushes the boundaries of one's expectations. It challenges each person's fore-knowledge of the world. It is, by definition, emancipatory (Marcuse, 1978).

From their intimate association with the arts, Frankfurt School theorists spoke of "man's dimensionality" and the inherent threat that an over-emphasis on the technical dimension of life would lead to a truncating of the whole person and, eventually, to "one-dimensional" man. Habermas, in stressing the importance of each interest sphere, not only focuses our attention on multi-faceted human potential, but also he provides a particularly relevant analytical tool for understanding the work of adult educators at mid-century.

The Adult Educators

At the end of World War II, as Canadians sought to re-invigorate their civil society, the government of Nova Scotia established a division of its educational wing that would concentrate on these purposes. Field representatives from the Department of Agriculture, in particular, requested help with their work among the rural adult population. Guy Henson, a well-known educator, undertook a study of specific needs and of successful approaches followed elsewhere.

From the 1920s, Nova Scotia had had a successful blueprint for social action in the Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, and in the work of activist priests like J.J. Tompkins and M. Moses Coady. Catholics and Protestants alike were inspired by a gospel message that crossed denominational boundaries to unite people in an awakened

interest in their fellow man. It was no accident that the early pioneers of socialism in Canada, such as J.S. Woodsworth and Tommy Douglas, were clergymen. The social gospel tended to justify or even compel the church's intervention in politics.

Henson, whose own religious inspiration came from Anglican roots, formulated his plans for adult learning from studying international experiments as well as the Antigonish Movement and other Canadian experiments, such as the Extension initiatives of E.A.(Ned) Corbett at the University of Alberta. Outlining a modus operandi for adult education, and directives for action, Henson (1946) stressed the importance of local initiative and decentralized organizational control. The new Division must serve the needs of the people as perceived by them; and it must do so under the auspices of existing volunteer organizations and with the cooperation of government agencies. The program, offering vocation, civic, and cultural services, was to be at the grass-roots, working from and for ordinary people. Local schools would serve as community centres for organizational activities. Here the adults would find the materials they required--film equipment, radios, blackboards, musical instruments and record players, stage and kitchen facilities and, most importantly, basic libraries.

This emphasis on the school as a focal learning site meshed perfectly with the teachings of Dr. Mortimer Marshall, Professor of Education at Acadia University and with the young Elizabeth (Betty) Murray, who was assisting him by placing education students as study-group leaders in the rural communities surrounding the University. Betty's task was to ascertain the interests of local men and women and then arrange for education students to join appropriate study groups as resource persons. As she had a special aptitude for music, her own outreach took the form of choral singing and, after a single year at Acadia, she had a different community choir in rehearsal each night of the week.

Parallels between Betty Murray's work and Henson's plan for adult education were obvious. She became the third person hired by the Division in 1946, the first two being Charles Topshee, a former employee of the National Film Board, and John Hugh MacKenzie, a former school principal. Betty's role, as the first Field Representative, was to continue her work with adult groups, to try new teaching approaches, and to report back to her colleagues in Halifax. Shortly after this, Don Wetmore joined the team bringing with him years of experience in drama. From its inception, thus, the Division was distinguished from other adult agencies by its emphasis on the arts.

Residential Folkschools & Arts Initiatives.

Planners of the first residential folkschools identified a need for each art (or for "recreation", as these activities were often called). The folkschools, designed for rural people, involved staff from various voluntary groups and from government agencies. In spirit and in format, they followed the Danish model inspired by the19th century activist, Bishop N. F. S. Grundtvig, who regarded education as a lifelong process, the most successful form of which involved people in dialogue with their neighbours. This emphasis on the development of individual competencies in a social context is consistent with the ideal of "educating people, not merely training them". In Nova Scotia folkschools, this was approached along two fronts during the ten days or so of residential living. First, there was a strong emphasis on developing an appreciation of local history and the rural setting that "gave a sense of identity, or worth, and of motivation". Related to this sense of unity with one's past and community, was the cultural development of the individual through the study of music, drama, folkdance, as well as economic issues and history. The arts were seen as "part of a well-balanced life" and as a "means for getting at the whole person".

Other residential schools were initiated by Betty Murray and her colleagues for the express purpose of developing leadership in the arts at the community level. These Schools of Community Arts, held between 1948 and the late 1960s, were staffed by leading Canadian artists

and arts teachers, as well as by Division staff and other government workers. The Schools, located for many years in Betty's village of Tatamagouche, offered courses in choral and instrumental music, drama, dance, and visual arts. By the late 1950s, attendance reached a peak of 183 resident students, most of whom slept, ate, worked, and gave their performance in the regional High School.

The success of the Schools, as one might anticipate, led to more requests for arts services in the provinces. One was for a provincial festival that would allow students at the school to hear the very finest artists of the day and view community arts and crafts. Thus, in 1956, the NS Festival of the Arts came into being. Although Festival committee members represented a wide variety of artistic and business interests, Betty Murray was able to convince them all again that her village offered the ideal location. This, according to recollections of festival officials today, was not only because of the natural beauty of the village, but because of Murray's ability "in identifying people and having things happen in that community".

The Festival attracted over 7,000 visitors in its first year and, by 1959, numbers rose to 11,000, where they remained for the nine more years that the Festival stayed at Tatamagouche. All large arts performances were held in the High School and in a nearby church, while crafts-people demonstrated their work in a couple dozen large tents, erected in a community field in front of the school. The people of Nova Scotia were able to hear and see operas, plays, solo performers, and to learn about the crafts and folk arts of their own province by talking with the artists-at-work.

Just as the School of Community Arts led to the idea of a provincial festival, the combined successes of the schools and festivals persuaded Division staff toward the late 1950s that young people, too, would benefit from greater exposure to art, drama, and music. There were still only a few music teachers in the province and the delivery of the arts in the public schools continued to be sporadic. From its inception, the guiding purpose of the Junior School of the Arts was to develop leadership abilities in youth, both in their particular art interests and in aspects of community living.

Each of these arts initiatives flourished for about two decades until, gradually, they were replaced, first by shorter residential schools and, then, by training schools and more individualized forms of learning. In time, specialization began to play a role in arts organizations as well. The Festival of the Arts moved to Wolfville and then to Halifax, to better facilities and increased government funding. The people, however, did not respond to the loss of rural flavour; numbers fell off and, in a few years, the organization petered out. The senior School of Community Arts remained at Tatamagouche during Betty's time with the Division (i.e., until 1961) but, then, it too was discontinued. The Junior School, which had catered to a wide variety of artistic interests, gave way in the mid-1960s to specialized band, choral, piano, and string camps. The move from "community" to individual pursuits can be considered, in Habermasian terms, a commodification of the arts. As such, it marks their marginalization to the elite realms of society – a direction very much in evidence today. But, for many years, the arts were fundamentally important to community development.

Communicative and Emancipatory Action

It is evident that the adult educators of this story valued human dignity in economic, social, and cultural terms, and a reasonably just distribution of life's cultural and material goods. The impetus was modernist and humanist in its liberal belief in the possibility of progress with an additional motivating force, the social gospel message. This approach to one's fellow man, embedded within the "lifeworld" of the people, was simply *right*.

It was as a means to these goals of human advancement and justice that educators valued discursive and non-discursive modes of communication. In each school or short course, discussion groups adhered to certain rules of conduct--rules that Habermas would later outline

as essential to "communicative action"--that speech acts be neither distorted nor repressive. Topics were to emanate from the discussants; they were to come from the people's own life-world. No individual was to dominate the discussion and each was to take a turn while the others listened. While listening may lead to confusion and uncertainty initially, "there is always hope when people ... listen to both sides; it is when they attend only to one that errors harden into prejudice" (J.S. Mill, in Garrison, 1996, p. 431). In terms of Habermas' triad of interests, this communication took place at a *practical* level. The arts provided another form of communication, both in their non-discursive forms of dance, painting, and music, and in their discursive forms--drama, film, and literature. They allowed for a three-dimensionality of experience in that they challenged taken-for-granted ways of seeing and being in the world and, in so doing, they provided an "aesthetic shock" that propelled people to question everyday assumptions.

We can begin to think of three-dimensionality by considering its alternative. The one-dimensional person, according to Marcuse (1968), inhabits a world stripped of sentient perception and of moral deliberation. S/he is governed by a technological rationality that asks how the goals of the bureaucratic workplace can be brought about with maximum efficiency and effectiveness. Thoughts of morality, artistry, and human compassion become secondary, or are eclipsed altogether. In artistic terms, we meet the one-dimensional character as a plastic being, a stereotype of what could be fully human. A good poet or dramatist, therefore, is capable of presenting fully rounded characters who have something of timeless value to tell us about the human condition. The same can be said of the musician or visual artist who, through sound and sight, enlarges our life-worlds.

In the Nova Scotia schools and festivals, the arts were to enhance the residents' awareness (ethical and aesthetic, as well as technical) of other ways of knowing. Residents, in turn, were able to call on the arts to enliven and enrich their own communities. Drama, for instance, was used to explore people's everyday lives, and amateur actors (i.e., community members) were encouraged to present problems for general discussion, using symbolic devices such as metaphor, irony, humour, and pathos. Choral groups, in which people explored and expressed their cultural heritage, sprang up all over the province. The adult educators of this particular period shared a belief in the value of social justice and an acknowledgement that the arts played an important role in achieving this. Yet the arts did not fulfil a utilitarian function only. Betty Murray and the hundreds of people she reached through song came to love music for its own sake. The arts added beauty to a world crying out for sentient experience. Those of us involved in community renewal would do well to reflect upon the value of blending utility and beauty in the contemporary context.

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Endnote

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A TECHNOLOGY OF CITIZENSHIP: LEARNING DEMOCRACY

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Canadian adult education's contribution to the re-conceptualization of democracy could be a technology of citizenship. The technology's conceptual foundation is a social perspective on adult learning; its technical artifacts selected to further the dialogue of deliberative democracy. This paper presents social learning and communication as 'velcro' for a technology of citizenship.

A recent **Economist** had an arresting front cover - a vibrantly coloured globe melting like a scoop of ice-cream left too long in the hot sun; countries and continents dissolving into rivulets of mush. Unabashedly conservative, the magazine's theme was crisis in the world economy. The issue touched on ethnic tensions, population mobility, the erosion of the nation state and the failure of the United Nations to bring order to global affairs. Subscribers to **Canadian Dimension** or the **New Internationalist** would label that collection of ills as a crisis, but as a crisis of liberal democracy and global capitalism.

Similar assessments have compelled public intellectuals across the ideological spectrum to focus on the re-conceptualization and re-formulation of democracy. Adult education scholars resonate with double democracy (Held, 1989) and deliberative democracy (Barber,1998). Arato and Cohen pose incisive questions about the appropriate relationship among civil society, the state, the economy, and chart the complex nature of the public and private, lifeworld and system dimensions of the former (1992). Wrestling with civil society compels scholars to grapple with that equally slippery notion - the public sphere. Habermas frames the public sphere as the space for uncoerced human association and citizen interaction. Civil society and public sphere are intricately intertwined, although not identical (1989). Citizenship cuts both broadly and deeply into all these discourses and is very much a conception in evolution.

Torres distinguishes between a theory of *democracy* and a theory of *citizenship* (1998). The first is a search for the desirable connection amongst established forms of social and political power, the intersection of systems of democratic representation and public administration, and political party systems. A theory of citizenship, on the other hand, is about relations between citizens and the state, and among citizens themselves. Scholars in adult education are as able to contribute to a contemporary theory of democracy as any other group of intellectuals. But our tradition (imaginative training for citizenship) and our philosophy (solidarity with learners) calls adult educators to a theory of citizenship. Being adult education scholars in Canada where citizenship has always been under active construction, positions us to offer grounded theory.

The conceptualization of contemporary citizenship, its definitions and its implications is far from easy. The permeability of previously defining physical and geographic boundaries fundamentally alter notions of citizenship. References to global citizenship are now commonplace; the notion of cultural citizenship becoming so.

Inventive thought has begun on *non place-based* citizenship, often through *community* - interestingly, that unit of social organization once defined by locality. Now, virtual and epistemic communities are assumed; parallels between communities of affinity and communities of vicinity explored. To state the obvious, contemporary citizenship is less bound up with co-presence or face-to-face encounters and more with communication at a distance or mediated communication (often, many times mediated). Mediated communication involves technologies to embody communication. The cannons, culture and constitution of contemporary citizenship are ill founded without careful attention to the phenomenon of recent developments in communication and information.

A technology of citizenship

In the past decade, few phenomenon have excited, flummoxed, and provoked the public imagination as much as technology. Nonetheless, both popular and scholarly discourses on technology indicate widely variant meanings and assumptions. Foucault observes that the practice of technology defines the content. The layers of meaning in tthe 'real world' of technology are well articulated by Franklin. She argues that technology is both (a) know how, organizations, symbols, dreams, new words, systems, procedures, myths, hopes and (b) artifacts and technical devices. Technology then refers to structuring **as well** as structures, a body of knowledge **and** complex interrelated activities. Most importantly, technology is not **just** enabling tools, but is also a mindset. The technology of citizenship advanced below rests on a Franklin/Foucaultian notion of technology. It is my contention that (a) contemporary citizenship requires a contemporary technology (with both layers of meanings) and (b) critical adult educators, with similarly minded colleagues from critical communication, can create it..

The intellectual dimension of a technology of citizenship

A social theory of learning. The foundational blocks of an **intellectual** technology of citizenship are already well developed in critical adult education scholarship. Thomas identified the social domain in which learning is an organic response to the execution of adult roles (member, citizen, participant, resident) embedded in larger patterns of everyday life (1996). Freire constructed cultural circles as education, and drew an analogy between collective learning and conscientization. Mezirow pinpointed reflexivity as the essence of adult learning and perspective transformation. Subsequently, a critical perspective on adult learning has deepened understanding of learning in the social and cultural domain, including civil society. A social learning theory posits human knowing and understanding as a process infused with and inseparable from historical and social context. Contemporary citizenship is an usually clear example of a knowing in context.

Social learning theory has other deep wells to nourish an intellectual technology of citizenship, namely past and ongoing scholarship on collectivity, community, and participation.

Collectivity. A technology of citizenship would target and expand on the collective learning implications of social learning theory, still largely uncharted. Critical adult education already frames learning as a complex process involving relationships with other people and with socio-cultural forces of society. The recursive relationship between the

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life world and system (mediated by differences and diversity) is held to be primary. A theory of citizenship would explore the potential and capacity of these bases for engaged collective knowing. The recent work on new social movements would be central to an intellectual technology of citizenship, not only as privileged **sites** of collective learning but as important **sources** for knowledge creation and cognitive praxis.

Community. Community is the second of critical adult education's in-house resources for an intellectual technology of citizenship. Past research on community learning and development identified important dynamics in the public sphere of community. These include (a) the importance of collective meaning construction, (b) reciprocity, (c) a mix of public and private sphere reflection, and (d) community ownership of the process by which community narratives are developed and shared (Harris, 1997). Studies on community economic revitalization point to the significance of community-based dialogue and community creation of 'ideal speech situations'. Of late, the attention of adult educators has moved from the 'place-based' community to various epistemic communities, predominantly the learning community and communities of practice. Still, work on virtual community has not come to terms with identity deriving from a 'sense of place'. The popular notion of a learning society is a virtual community but its rhetoric is ahead of its substance. If a learning society is a global learning community, what is its commons and from where will its citizens find roots, reference and sense of belonging? Adult education's past study of community identifies the importance of such questions for a contemporary technology of citizenship.

Participation. Past and present study of participation in adult education is a third vital component of a technology of citizenship. The strength is not just that the process and philosophy of participation has been held to be essential, but the principle has been given 'legs'. Arstein long ago provided a helpful 'ladder of participation' to differentiate among kinds of participation, and to underline how the locus of power and control contributes to variants among pseudo and 'real' participation. Literature from 30 years of active scholarship on participatory (action) research on continents provides important methodological frameworks applicable to an intellectual technology of citizenship.

As strong as each body of work is individually, it is only in combination that an intellectual technology of citizenship appears. Up to now, Welton's notion of civil societarian adult education is the best combination available (1995). His contribution has been to articulate the cognitive deep structure of a critical perspective on adult learning. By shaping the popularly held logic of democratic adult education, he has given sufficient intellectual shape to its civil society dimension that a technology of citizenship can build on and from it. The public sphere dimension of citizenship needs similar treatment.

But perhaps above all, social learning theory has prepared the ground for a technology of citizenship by embracing both normative/utopian and analytic/conceptual dimensions of theorizing. That view of **responsible** scholarship on learning and democracy is also fundamental to a technology of citizenship.

Critical communication. At least one other piece of scaffolding is necessary for an intellectual technology of citizenship. If we are to take seriously our own notion that no one learns anything alone, that learning happens in interaction, then we are remiss in not

paying more attention to scholarship from communication. Fortunately, there is a group of scholars who identify themselves as critical cultural communicators whose interest in contemporary citizenship is as keen as our own. Since neither civil society nor the public sphere can exist without public communication, we best not lost too much time in creating a working/learning relationship with this group.

The technical dimensions of a technology for citizenship

Like other technologies for the real world (Franklin, 1997), a technology of citizenship has enabling tools, artifacts, technical devices. The technical component of a technology of citizenship would be **first and foremost** for the communication and collective learning functions of citizenship. While some parts of society are saturated with technologies which purport to support learning and communication, the 'new' technologies were **not** designed for such purposes. Adaptions we have in abundance, of course, but there is no reason why a technology of citizenship must **begin** from adaptions, particularly adaptions of technologies developed for incompatible purposes.

Learning technologies

Most so called 'learning technologies' have been developed by educational institutions or corporations to provide neo-liberal education to individuals for competition in the global market place. The best that can be said of most learning technologies is that they may be as effective as traditional delivery methods of education. Universities routinely sacrifice the quality of learning of one student cohort in trials to take the bugs out of new distance education offerings such as on-line courses so that more students can be 'reached' in the future. While on-line technologies indicate possibilities by which learning can be pursued without reference to education providers (institutional or otherwise), the population most likely to use 'new' technologies are those who already have formal education and command of a number of their society's resources. Until learning technologies are designed for and routinely used by less elite groups, they will not serve as technologies for inclusive democratic citizenship. Current learning technologies might give more ways to learn to people already 'in the loop' but gaps between the information-rich and information-poor are intensifying. The trickle-down theory of development is performing [sic] as it always has.

Information technologies

Similarly, many so called 'communication and information' technologies (ITCs) are all information and little or no communication. Many devices deliver information, content, or data but are not designed to facilitate democratically minded dialogue. The technical aspects of a technology of citizenship would begin from and centre on **communication**, of which reciprocity and mutuality are central dynamics. A technology of citizenship would consider the prevailing versions of 'interactive' media as quite rudimentary given the interactions permitted are invariably limited to responding, not initiating. A technology of citizenship would put priority on *universality* before *accessibility*, as universality is about creating equity and access about extending advantage. Tools designed by private sector corporations for customers in a global market for purposes of entertainment, advertising, recreation, corporate administration and faster one-to-one communication are not the ideal technologies for citizens actively creating democracy.

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Citizenship technologies

The first task of designing technical support for citizenship would be an articulation of the communication and learning functions to be accomplished. Functions such as equity, truth, participation, transparency, power and freedom would be at the fore of design decisions (Miller, 1998; Tehranian, 1995). The second step would be an assessment of the current crop of 'communication and information' technology to meet the communication criteria called for by democratic citizenship. The third would be development of hospitable environments to incubate those new technologies which will be needed to address the identified gaps.

Conclusion

A reformulated democracy depends on a fresh conception of contemporary citizenship. The bleak, depolitized, and consumerist citizenship of the **Economist** is not adequate. Political opinion as an statistical aggregate of individual behaviour and opinion, and devoid of interaction among citizens, is similarly flawed. For the distributive justice agenda of deliberative democracy, social and cultural rights are necessary, in addition to the civil and political. Whether a technology of citizenship is informed by post-modernity or communitarianism, some features of contemporary life must be incorporated. For openers, a conception of citizenship includes reflexivity, multiple and fluid identities, active social learning, new forms of public and private spheres, and communicative competencies. The challenge of a contemporary citizenship is blending these with more familiar and enduring notions. Citizenship for the 21st century is collective learning-in-progress. A technology of citizenship founded in critical social learning may be adult education's finest contribution to deliberate democracy.

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Poster Session Presentation
Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities
Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education
18th Annual Conference
University of Sherbrooke, Sherbrooke, Quebec
June 10-12, 1999

INTERNSHIP PROJECTS: ADULT EDUCATION STUDENTS AT CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

Riva Heft: Internship Instructor

Poster Session Presenters:
Mr. Paul Arseneault, Mr. Eric Dufresne, Ms. Sandra Georgescu, Mrs. Dana Kausilas, Mrs. Annuta Pinchuk, Ms. Renata Scheib, Ms. Jennifer Silverman, Ms. Lydia Tawil

The process and results of Internship projects undertaken by students in the Adult Education Program, Department of Education at Concordia University were presented at a multi poster session. This Internship consists of two three-credit, project-based courses during which each student articulates, develops and implements a supervised Special Project for the benefit of a Host Institution, a provider of adult education. Supervision is provided on-site by a member of the Host Institution and in a seminar setting throughout the course of two academic terms by the Internship instructor. A primary goal of the Internship is to provide students with an experience that links theory with practice in a real life situation. Most of the Internship students are adult educators working in diverse settings such as hospitals, school boards, community centres and the private sector.

The topics presented were as varied as the institutions and agencies that sponsored them. Students located a Host Institution, a project advisor who is a member of that Host Institution and together a Special Project was articulated for the benefit of the Host Institution. Phase 1 of the Internship required the student, with the assistance of the internship instructor and project advisor, to delineate the objectives of the Special Project, describe the Host Institute and its role as a provider of adult education and examine the topic area by conducting a review of current literature. In Phase 2, the project delineated in Phase 1 was implemented. A product of the Special Project was a Final Report, including a history of the Host Institution, a review of the literature in the area relevant for each Special Project and details of the implementation process of the Special Project. Other products reflected the unique character of the Special Projects and included manuals for instructional materials and workshops, tools for a Human Resources department and recommendations for articles for a collective agreement for vocational education teachers working in the Québec public school system.

This poster session presentation provided the students with an opportunity to be an integral part of a public experience at an important conference in their field of study. This will add a significant dimension of professionalism to the Internship experience of its participants.

The following pages represent a brief summary of the Special Projects as written by each individual student. A bibliography is included at the end containing selected references cited in these pages.

Riva Heft
Concordia University

Intern	**Mr. Paul Arseneault.**
Title of Special Project	**Internet as an Educational Resource for Teachers**
Host Institution	**Commission Scolaire Marguerite Bougeoys, Pavillion Boilleau**

This project was designed for teachers with little or no knowledge of personal computers or the Internet. The purpose was to demonstrate the use of computers as a tool for teaching. The demand on the public school system to create and develop programs with technology in mind is an ever-increasing reality in the technological era western society finds itself.

An interview of the eighteen participating teachers was held at the host institution: Pavillon Boilleau of the Commission Scolaire Marguerite Bougeoys located in city of LaSalle, Québec, Canada. The purpose of the interviews was to establish the level of knowledge the teachers had of computers and what they would like to learn related to this subject. As a result of the interviews it was discovered that two groups of learners would be participating. The first group demonstrated a novice level of computer use and hardware related topics. The second group demonstrated a beginner's level. What the participating teachers requested of the course was to be taught three aspects of computer use. The first was Word Processing, the second was computer software / hardware interrelation and finally how to use the Internet as an educational resource.

With the results of the interviews I was able to create three modules for this program: Module one Computer Hardware / Software interrelation, module two Word processing using Microsoft Word 97 and module three the Internet. An example of how the Word processing module was taught is as follows: all the teachers were sitting in front of a computer during the course, this was done to offer the teachers as much exposure to computers as possible. Ensuring that the course outline kept the teachers interested they were taught how to make individual class schedules for their students, reading assignments, exams and what modules would be taught during the semester. They were also taught how to make course handouts incorporating Clip Art to make their handouts more appealing to the reader. How to incorporate a table of contents into their documents automatically by the word processor. During class, the actual hands on experience the teachers received was ninety five percent of the course time. This hands on experience had a profound impact on these teachers they now feel comfortable with computers and several of the teachers have stated that they intend to buy or continue learning about computers.

This special project was successful for two reasons. The first reason is because the teachers learned how to use computers in the everyday aspects of their jobs. The second reason is, I have gained a large amount of valuable experience on how to develop teaching programs for teachers. This teaching experience has matured my competencies as an adult educator to a much higher degree of professionalism than I had previously.

Intern	**Mr. Eric Dufresne**
Title of Special Project	**Labour Education and a collective agreement for vocational teachers**
Host Institution	**Riverside Park Technology Centre**

For the Special Project the intern took the opportunity to reflect on the issues of labour education at his host institution, Riverside Park Technology Centre (RPTC). The project advisor and the intern articulated some issues of labour education for the Special Project as these apply to the collective agreement and impact on the staff at RPTC. Three parties are implicated: the union - Lakeshore Teacher's Association (LTA), the individual teacher and the administrators at centre and board levels from the Lester B. Pearson School Board.

The uniqueness of the vocational technology sector at Riverside Park Technology Centre cannot be perceived in the same manner as the youth sector for the following reasons. The working environment consists of a working day from 8:00 a.m. until 10:30 p.m., Monday to Friday. The school year is twelve months long and there are twelve technologies offered at the centre. Each of these technologies has it's own particular needs and challenges. The vocational technology sector has no specific body of knowledge or official protocol directly related to the daily struggles of running the different programs.

The combination of the obligatory guidelines, teachers' responsibilities, the centre's mission, the responsibility towards the community, school policies and the Collective Agreement E 1 creates a structure where the educator can achieve his or her goal of teaching. But sometimes, misunderstandings occur in the daily life of a centre due to the different contractual status of teaching staff. Knowledge of governing policies from the Human Resources Department and the legal implications of successful and unsuccessful grievances can narrow down the misinterpretations of the collective agreement by any involved parties.

The issues of labour education are on going and dynamic and reflect the diverse relationships within the working environment. The importance of gathering information for future collective agreements will become more evident as the teachers move into an interim period of negotiations. Discussions relating to the local collective agreement for the vocational technology sector will not realistically take place until the fall of 1999 at the earliest. The transition from the old Montreal Teachers Association's (MTA) collective agreement to the new and unfamiliar LTA's collective agreement has been quite challenging for the new LTA members and the administrators at RPTC.

From being a senior representative of the MTA in 1998, the intern has become a senior representative of the LTA in 1999. Thus, the intern has become responsible for informing the membership of the new modifications affecting this working environment within the collective agreement. In light of the real work situations experienced and witnessed at RPTC, it seemed appropriate as a learner and practitioner of adult education that the intern undertakes the design and implementation of activities around some issues of labour education.

Intern	**Sandra Georgescu**
Title of Special Project	**Communication Skills Training for Out-patients Suffering from Severe and Persistent Mental Illness**
Host Institution	**Angrignon Adult Education Centre, Douglas Hospital**

A Communication Skills Training (CST) program for the out-patients of the Douglas Hospital was an effort to enhance the patients' capacity to adapt to society and become more autonomous while undergoing the process of deinstitutionalization.

Clients from Contact Centre (Community Vocational Organization affiliated with the Douglas Hospital) who participated in this training program are of medium to high intellectual functioning and suffering from severe and persistent mental illness. They are sufficiently autonomous to commute by themselves, engage in a variety of structured activities and hold part-time to full time employment. Notwithstanding these abilities, they display inappropriate social and communicative behaviours such as but not limited to, the lack of eye contact, withdrawal, and aggression, and mute or unintelligible speech, (Hersen & Bellack, 1976; Goldsmith & McFall, 1975; Sylph et al., 1977). Personal observation by the author corroborated these findings.

Past literature on Social Skills Training (SST) and Psychosocial Rehabilitation (PSR) indicated a need for such a program for outpatients with severe and persistent mental illness (Bachrach, 1992; Ragis, 1998; Liberman et al., 1986; Odom & McConnel, 1992).

A literature review and research project in psychology and education lay the foundation for the design of a CST program. The overall objective of this program was the instruction of communication skills through the following topics: definition of communication, ownership of statements, active listening, disclosing information, assertive communication, negotiation, saying and accepting "no", and the expression of difficult feelings, (Adler & Towne, 1993; Johnson, 1997).

The teaching method included ten, three-hour sessions of formal instruction and discussion, modeling, role-plays, practice/rehearsal and homework assignments. In order to overcome past shortcomings of generalization of behaviour (skill) across contexts and situations (Falloon et al., 1977; Liberman et al., 1986; Odom & McConnell, 1992), the implementation of this CST program was carried out at the clients' work site, in accordance with the recommendations of Liberman et al.(1986).

Due to the limited amount of time and resources available, the clients were unable to appropriately transfer the learning of new skills to novel examples and situations. The final outcome is presently inconclusive. However, it is safe to infer that more practice time per topic, (three times as much), would be of greater benefit for this population.

Intern	**Dana Kausilas**
Title of Special Project	**Hiring for Competencies: Activities for Interviewers**
Host Institution	**Concordia University, Department of Human Resources**

Competencies is a concept that has caught the attention of Human Resource practitioners in the last couple of years (Kochanski, 1997). Over the last two decades, research has systematically linked about 20 competencies to effective and superior performance in the workplace (Boyatzis, 1982; Spencer & Spencer, 1993). This evidence has prompted many organizations to look at incorporating competencies into their various Human Resource functions such as: hiring, career development, salary administration, performance appraisal.

This project aimed at helping the Human Resources department of one such organization-Concordia University-understand the implications of incorporating a formal, competency-based approach into their operations. To accomplish this objective, one Human Resource function was chosen for a pilot study-that of "hiring". Recent literature on interview practices gave prominent importance to identifying competencies required for an open position (Berman, 1997; Spencer & Spencer, 1993; Taylor & O'Driscoll, 1995). Using the models suggested in this literature as a guide, a three-part program was developed for interviewers, which focused on competencies. The program requires that interviewers implement three principal activities. The first is to identify the competencies required for the open position. This is done with an updated job description and a generic dictionary of competencies. The interviewers indicate, on a form provided, the competencies that are required to accomplish the major job responsibilities and their relative importance to the job. Secondly, interviewers must develop up to three questions for each competency identified. They can use sample questions provided to formulate questions that elicit responses that tap either past behaviors the candidate has actually performed, or future behaviors the candidate would intend to undertake. The third activity requires that interviewers record and rate the responses provided by the candidate on forms developed for this purpose. The interviewers use a 5-point rating scale to indicate the extent to which the candidate's actual or intended actions correspond to a mastery of the competency being measures.

The program provides interviewers with a procedure that guides their actions when hiring, as well as a framework which highlights the training they need to receive, formally or informally, to master the skill of hiring for competencies.

Intern	**Annuta Pinchuk**
Title of Special Project	**In-service: Meeting the past through today's generation**
Host Institution	**Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre**

I never realized how important the topic of genocide is today. This is no longer just a Jewish issue to me. It belongs to everyone. The importance in educating every generation of people, young, old and never, never forgetting, is crucial. I myself have turned a blind eye to the genocide around the world. My own personal growth in learning about the Holocaust has progressed, but is still very far from complete. I had difficulty reading certain material. The cold hard facts on genocide were not so upsetting, and neither were the different critical opinions offered. However, I read many different books with tearful texts in them, with personal stories from survivors and their families. I would wander off with these readings for hours before "getting back on topic" to the academic analysis of genocide. I had difficulty comprehending the actual horrors that people and their families went through. I know about it, but for comfort reasons I block it to continue on with my life. The brutality is beyond my scope. I had never before realized the many branches of Holocaust education that touch our lives today, like the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre or countless newspaper clippings and magazine articles and TV news stories that keep coming up about the Holocaust, stories I never really noticed before. I also never realized the shocking extent of "Holocaust revisionism" or the fact that genocide is not given the adequate attention it deserves as a secondary school topic. I now realize the necessity to teach every and all generations the basic lesson of the Holocaust: human life is precarious and fragile.

From one generation to another… but what does that mean? Now a new generation is emerging and the old are dying. Soon there will no longer be Holocaust survivors, and I watch in horror as young people have grown accustomed to hatred, anger, and racism. They have not grown more tolerant, and I fear the lessons we must learn from the Holocaust will be lost to future generations. This is why I think it so absolutely crucial to teach an integrated genocide unit in secondary schools--- "lest we forget."

Intern	**Renata Scheib**
Title of Special Project	**Meditation Workshop For Actors : "Expanding Your Creative Expression"**
Host Institution	**The Montreal School of Performing Arts**

The purpose of this Special Project was to design a meditation workshop for actors of the Host Institution, The Montreal School of Performing Arts. The workshop was designed to teach students the skills necessary to allow them to further explore and heighten their creative expression as actors. In addition, the new workshop would provide an opportunity for the acting school to expand their program curriculum.

After having consulted with the Artistic Director and Director of The Montreal School of Performing Arts, it was identified that a meditation workshop would serve the following two purposes. 1) It would be useful to the students in achieving their goals and 2) it would increase the services to clients of the institution. This generated the possibility for greater enrollment, as the school would be able to offer the public at large as well as current students a wider selection of courses.

A needs assessment questionnaire was distributed to the student / actor population in order to evaluate if in fact there was a need and/or interest in having the meditation workshop available. The response was very positive from everyone, and the results indicated such a need.

A search of the literature on meditation and its benefits was conducted using Harrison (Jr.) & Musial (1978), Janowiak & Hackman (1994) and Malloy (1998). A proposal was submitted to the acting school that served as a basis for the design of the technical side of the workshop that was grounded in the work of Caffarella (1994).

The workshop design consisted of 8 sessions of 1 $^{1/2}$ hours each. Throughout each session various meditation techniques were demonstrated to students and were later performed by them. These techniques enabled them to reduce stress, balance energies, and shift consciousness to enhance concentration and focus. Effectively, they were able to use these meditation methods learned in class to their advantage when having to develop character roles, auditioning, or performing on stage or film.

To conclude, I feel that the workshop was successful not only in helping the students achieve personal growth as performers, but also as human beings. And finally, my involvement in this Special Project has proved invaluable, as it has given me the opportunity to further develop myself as an adult education facilitator.

Intern	**Jennifer Silverman**
Title of Special Project:	**Introduction to Employee Self- Evaluations, Awareness and Comprehension: A Workshop for Continuing Professional Development**
Host Institution	**Pharmaprix Head Office, Montreal**

This special project was developed to inform Pharmaprix employees and management on the necessity and importance of self-evaluations. The development of this workshop was in response to a training need identified at the host institution: Pharmaprix Head Office.

After consulting with the Director of Training at Pharmaprix head office, and identifying the absence of an company sponsored course on employee self-evaluation, it was proposed that such a course in the form of a workshop be developed and pilot tested on-site in one Pharmaprix store.

A needs assessment survey was conducted with the employees of Pharmaprix who would form the pilot test population, to measure and determine how they have been evaluated in the past and how they would like to be evaluated in the future.

The workshop was developed by conducting research on employee appraisals and self-evaluations. "Research has shown that performance review discussions based on self-review prove to be more productive and satisfying than traditional manager-initiated appraisal discussions" (Meyer in London, 1997, p.43). Using London (1997) and Caffarella (1994) as sources for the content, a workshop on employee self-evaluation was developed.

This learning activity was developed as a participatory educational training session to 1) demonstrate the importance of employee appraisals, 2) illustrate that employees can take responsibility for their own job performance and 3) break the barriers that stand between management and the employees.

A workbook was also developed for the employees to use as a guide, a tool and a resource. *A Workshop for Continuing Professional Development: Self-Evaluations, Awareness & Comprehension: Introduction to Company Employee Self–Evaluations* was created to help Pharmaprix employees understand that self-evaluations are productive tools to the employee appraisal process.

This workshop was successful since it responded to a demand for a more efficient appraisal process. It is expected that this will benefit all the parties involved; management and staff. Another reason for its success is the amount of knowledge and experience I have gathered in the employee-training field. This has become a valuable experience that has allowed me to enhance my skills and achieve a goal of personal and professional growth.

Intern	**Lydia Tawil**
Title of Special Project	**Workshops as a Tool to Assess the Needs of French Second Language Adult Learners**
Host Institution	**Centre d'Éducation des Adultes de LaSalle Pavillon Boileau (C. É. A. L)**

In today's society, reading and writing are basic needs. We must try to educate our population in order to eliminate the word "illiteracy" from our vocabulary. For this, we must start right here in Canada.

The learning process varies from one person to another. In fact, it is believed that educators should try to adapt their teaching methods to the needs of their students. For literacy learners, things may get somewhat complex. They learn to read in five stages: 1) pre-reading, 2) decoding, 3) fluency, 4) learning the new, multiple viewpoints, and finally 5) construction and reconstruction.

It is more difficult for students who do not know the Roman alphabet to acquire French or English literacy skills. The population for this Special Project was students from non-Roman alphabet countries. Low levels of education characterize these adults, in this case less than a grade 10 education or no education at all. They have great difficulty learning a new language. When they complete their learning program they will not be able to go any further because of the absence of available programs. Pavillon Boileau does not provide more than the basic level in literacy programs. For the directors at Pavillon Boileau, it was important to seek possible solutions for some current illiterate students.

In order to help them proceed to the next level of the acquisition of reading and writing skills the creation of various phonetics and literacy workshops was undertaken. These workshops sought to gather information on the students' abilities to learn as well as their learning plateaux. By building on what the learner already knew, their self-esteem was enhanced as was their motivation to learn and their confidence as learners. Using real life situations the students felt more at ease. In this way they learned more quickly, more efficiently and with a sense of personal accomplishment.

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Social Movements and Professional Cadre: The Formation of an Aboriginal Teacher Education Program.

Dr. Rick Hesch

Abstract
Although the formation of the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program is portrayed as a vehicle for the self-determination of Metis people, the program's creation was one element in a series of state accommodations which resulted in Metis political stabilization. Thus, it contributed to the construction of hegemony.

Introduction

The Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program was created as a teacher training program for Metis and non-status Indian students affiliated to the Universities of Reginal and Saskatchewan in 1980. Although the program is portrayed as a vehicle for "the self-determination, self-reliance, and independence of (Metis) people" (Annual Report 1990, p.2), this paper will show that, in its structural and ideological origins, SUNTEP specifically was a product of the provincial state apparatus responding to its own needs rather than a direct outcome of articulated Saskatchewan Metis and non-status Indian needs or interests. SUNTEP was established primarily as a consequence of progressive social democratic action within the provincial state administration and policy-formation process. However, the political conditions established by a recent history of Metis and non-status Indian mobilization, followed by increasingly concrete evidence of the Metis leadership's willingness to enter into the management of state programs, meant that Metis and non-status Indian demands were also significant in establishing the program. Material Metis and non-status class interest, as well as a political claim to self-determination, contributed to the negotiations with the provincial state, and to the creation of SUNTEP. To the extent that the establishment of SUNTEP was one element in a series of reforms or state accommodations which resulted in Metis and non-status Indian political stabilization, the formation of the teacher training program contributed to the construction of hegemony.

Specifically, establishing a teacher training program for Metis and non-status Indian students in Saskatchewan allowed the NDP administration to publicly claim that it was both addressing a potential crisis in urban education and responding to the needs of Saskatchewan's Aboriginal people. It could thus partially appease a key traditional base of support and at the same time at least partially placate the leadership of a new constituency which it had alienated during the 1970s. The predominant Metis and non-status Indian organization in the province would be tied still more closely to the ideological apparatus of the state. To suggest that these are the objective interests of the provincial state apparatus which were served by the development of SUNTEP is not to assert that all of these interests were intentionally served by those who wrote and promoted the policy documents which led to SUNTEP. On the contrary, the creation of SUNTEP was not accomplished without con-

test within the provincial state administration itself between elements manifesting the social planning ethic of progressive liberal and populist social democracy on the one hand, and more traditional bureaucratic elements on the other. At the same time, the formation of the teacher training program was completed only after central planners negotiated an agreement between leaderships of forces antagonistically constituted by their relationship to formal education: the historically excluded Metis and the historically included guardians of the Western canon - - the province's dominant university. The formation of SUNTEP, then, serves as a specific regional instance of: the non-unitary nature of the state; the possibilities and limitations of relatively progressive state planners; an element in the gradual incorporation of a social movement; and the way in which the broad Aboriginal social movement in the province contributed to the continuing formation of the provincial state. It also serves as a case study of the ways in which the formation of a program based on liberal ideology can, in fact, maintain a contradictory relation to the cultural forms of those it is explicitly intended to serve.

II The Metis Society of Saskatchewan in the 1970s: Social Movement *and* State Institution

The Metis and non-status Indian organization which ultimately sponsored SUNTEP was established in 1967 with the assistance of state funding in an attempt to prevent the mobilization of a more militant Metis popular organization. The Metis Society of Saskatchewan (MSS) was also formed, however, as a union between two existing Metis organizations: one representing an anti-colonial and becoming-militant association based in Northern Saskatchewan; the other, a more quiescent group, prepared to fulfill the role of a service and lobbying group on behalf of Southern Metis. The contradiction resulting from the union of these two organizations and constituencies played itself out during the decade of the 1970s as the Metis Society of Saskatchewan (MSS) initially led a militant "new" social movement but increasingly came to function as a service organization. Arguably, the MSS can be seen to have had the historical role of both capturing and incorporating, on behalf of the state, much of the Metis resistance movement which was produced almost inevitably by the social and material contradictions of the time, while also winning material gains for at least some Metis as a result of representations made to government. Finally, it must be remembered that the historical trajectory of the MSS is set within the context of the same transition occurring with many social movements and popular organizations of the 1970s in North America, a transition both contributing to and resulting from the rise of the Right and the world economic crisis of the decade (Apple, 1988; Dixon, 1981-82; Horton, 1981).

The provincial NDP had lost two consecutive elections to the Liberals when they campaigned in the 1971 election on a program that included: (a) a promise to "decolonize" the North, including an elected Council with powers of a deputy Minister to plan for overall economic development; (b) providing large grants to Indian and Metis central organizations to be spent without government interference; (c) a guarantee to include Aboriginal people in planning and administering programs which directly affect them; (d) job creation in the service sector.

A number of the funding promises were kept, including increased funding to

the Metis Society. Other "decolonizing" moves were initiated. The transformation of the state which resulted from these changes led, briefly, to unexpected outcomes in the dynamic of state relations. For example, the creation of a cohert of community development fieldworkers and policy planners who aligned themselves with the emerging Aboriginal social movement helped develop a genuine developing and militant Metis social movement, largely but not entirely based in Northern Saskatchewan. In turn, the extension of the democratic social movement to actions which were at least spontaneously and momentarily counter-hegemonic led the provincial NDP government to withdraw into administrative practices of repression. This was particularly the case with reference to its own processes which had encouraged democratic action, where the Premier threatened to cut off funding to the MSS.

The MSS reacted angrily to government threats, yet it was faced with a major contradiction. On the one hand, the condition of all Metis would probably not improve without the work of representative organizations. However, the development of popular organizations costs money, and the social base for the organizations the MSS leadership hoped to build was by definition without surplus financial resources with which to subsidize their own organizations. On the other hand, accepting funds from the government made the Metis organizations subject to all the pressures they had explicitly stated in their response to NDP threats. Metis militancy did not cease after the 1974 crisis, then, but their pace and frequency slowed down.

Simultaneous to the relative decline in militant activity, the MSS (later the Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan [AMNSIS]) was becoming more concerned with the administration of service programs. For Metis program administrators, movement towards self-determination came to mean AMNSIS administration of programs negotiated from the government. However, accepting responsibility for administrating former government programs not only means that particular kinds of work consume former activists' time, but also that AMNSIS was being asked to accept racist and Eurocentric conceptions of Aboriginal cultural practices along with new programs to manage and implement. By 1977, the MSS' Local 11 in Saskatoon had become an umbrella service-oriented administrative apparatus for eleven programs employing fifty-two workers. Thus, both the state and the AMNSIS had been transformed through this process of devolution. AMNSIS was now an extension of the state apparatus. At the same time, there had been a net increase in the employment of Metis people.

Through its power to use its fiscal strength to determine agendas, the state can also distort the accountability of mass organizations to their membership. For example, although educational issues had virtually ceased to take a major place in the public framing of MSS demands, the creation of a Metis Cultural College came to increasingly occupy the affairs of MSS leadership after 1976. The call for the creation of such a college appears to have emerged out of a Cultural Conference held in the Spring of 1976 by AMNSIS and at least partially funded by the federal Department of Multicultural Affairs. The idea may have been germinated when Saskatchewan Indians received approximately $500,000 in 1973 to "promote cultural nationalism" (Adams, 1975, p. 197). Part of the ideology underlying the develop-

ment of the new Metis college also appears to have been AMNSIS leadership's claim that "[a] society in which cultural values and cultural attributes are generally agreed on, nurtured and maintained as the basis of that society is generally a stable society" (Association of Metis, 1977, p. 1). From confrontational politics to appeals for stability in three years!

In May, 1980, initial funding for the new College, Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research Inc. (GDI), was received from the provincial government. The creation of GDI fit well into the expanding capacity of AMNSIS as a service organization, for provincial government funding had increased from $270,000 in 1976/77 to $1,692,740, of which $405,000 was devoted to GDI (W. Smishek to J. Sinclair, personal communication, July 7, 1980). Over half-a-million of these dollars was being spent on the Economic Development program, the program designed to insure that the Metis underclass was "able to handle money" ("Economic Development", 1976).

III Instituting a Metis Teacher Training Program in Saskatchawan

Three essential points need to be clearly understood about the development of SUNTEP. First, the proposal for the program was made to address the problem of urban poverty in Saskatchewan. Although it took the form of a multicultural education policy, that is, much of its underlying ideology resembled multicultural ways of thinking, its ultimate justification did not lie in "celebrating differences" or any other multiculturalism rhetoric, but in addressing economic disadvantage. Second, the program was initiated by the state for its own self-interested reasons, not as a democratic response to Metis or other Aboriginal demands. Third, SUNTEP was established in such a way as to, from the outset, limit any possibilities of genuine Aboriginal control of the program. Regardless of any claim by the management of the Gabriel Dumont Institute that "all activities (of the Institute, including SUNTEP) are directed toward the self-determination, self-reliance and independence of our people" (Annual Report, 1988, p. 1), the program was secured through contract with the universities and the Department of Education against what might be perceived by some as dangerous or non-professional forms of governance.

Available documents suggest that a proposal to fund SUNTEP went before Treasury Board in September, 1979 and that a SUNTEP Director began work on or about January 1, 1980.[1] However, it is not clear how SUNTEP, nominally a Gabriel Dumont Institute program, falls under the Institute's criterion that "all activities are directed toward the self-determination, self-reliance and independence of our people" (Annual Report, 1988). SUNTEP would not be an autonomous program administered by self-governing Metis. Despite efforts by MSS officials to achieve this aim, their allies in the Department of Education and Social Planning Secretariat had made concessions to the University of Saskatchewan and its concern to "maintain program quality" ("Saskatchewan Urban", p. 1)[2] as well as the conservatives within the Treasury Board. The agreement the provincial officials made with

[1] Minutes from a meeting between AMNSIS President Jim Sinclair and Minister of Education Doug McArthur, December 6, 1979. See also G. Wouters, personal communication, 8/26/89.

[2] "Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program (SUNTEP)." This document was a report submitted to Premier Blakeney and four other Cabinet Ministers on February 18, 1980.

non-Aboriginal interests distinctly limited the Metis' authority over the new program. The course of studies for SUNTEP was subject to the approval of the universities, and no modifications to it could be made without approval. The instructors employed to teach courses for the program required university approval. Graduates from the program could only be certified with university and Board of Teacher Education and Certification (BTEC) approval. Any modifications in the program design would require approval of the universities, the BTEC, and the Minister of Education.[3] AMNSIS was entitled to designate only two of seven members to the Management Board of the program. In summary, SUNTEP was clearly designed to be more a program of the state than of the Metis. Yet it had been achieved only after conflict and contradiction within a non-unitary state apparatus had been exposed. Interest in the program had been driven by progressive social democratic policy-makers, working in allegiance with Metis leaders, social democratic teachers' federation officials, and representatives of the less entrenched of the two provincial universities. SUNTEP was to be only one of a package of educational innovations, including community schools which offered limited input to inner-city parents, again a proposal which could facilitate the securing of hegemony. Internal conflict within the state apparatus was flanked by support from both elements of the debate. In the end, the conflict may have been resolved through the activity of the premier, active and relatively organized Metis grassroots leadership, the relatively recent history of Metis militancy, public anxiety created by both Metis militancy and inner-city demographic transformation (thus confusing and alarming teachers) and the ability of the policy-makers to reduce any significant concern about the threat of genuine Metis control of the program.

[3] The same controls exist over all other Aboriginal Teacher Education Programs in the province.

"BUT I'M NOT A THERAPIST": THE CHALLENGE OF CREATING EFFECTIVE LITERACY LEARNING FOR SURVIVORS OF TRAUMA

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Spiral Community Resource Group, Toronto

Experiences of violence are common in women's lives and have profound impact on their attempts to learn in educational programs. The complexity of the impact on learning and the cost to workers is introduced briefly, as well as new approaches to conceptualizing programming and possibilities for links between education and counselling.

Introduction

Learners may start in literacy or other education programs with desperate hope to finally improve their literacy skills or education, and begin to make essential changes in their lives. Women who live with daily violence may believe that improved literacy skills will be a first step towards enough education to find a paid job and escape. However, if there is no acknowledgement of the impacts of trauma on learning, rather than a chance to improve their literacy skills and succeed, learners may get only a chance to fail, to confirm to themselves that they really *cannot* learn. Learners and workers alike may become frustrated, despairing over the lack of possibilities for real change.

In recent research,[1] I looked at the impact of violence on women's literacy learning and program participation, in order to develop approaches to literacy work to help women learn better. Interviewing literacy workers, literacy learners, therapists and counsellors in focus group sessions, individual interviews and through computer networks in five regions of Canada, I concentrated on two key questions: What impacts of abuse do you see in your literacy program/your work? How can/should literacy programs address these impacts of violence?

Little is written or said about the links between violence and literacy, yet anecdotal accounts of literacy workers who have discovered that all, or most, of the students in a class have experienced sexual or physical abuse as children, certainly suggest that a formal study might reveal that horrifyingly high numbers of adults - both women and men - in literacy programs experienced abuse as children. However, even if the numbers of women in literacy programs who have experienced violence are no higher than the general population, we still need to know how to carry out literacy work in ways which are inclusive and effective for women who have survived trauma. We have to assume that every class will include at least some with this experience[2].

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[1] Research was funded by the National Literacy Secretariat, HRDC and sponsored by the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW).

[2] The Badgley Report (1984), concluded: "approximately 54 % of the females under the age of 18 have been sexually assaulted." "Badgley also showed that about 31% of the males of all ages have been sexually assaulted." (Mitchell, 1985 p.88). Statistics Canada (1993) states that: "51% of Canadian women have experienced at least one incident of physical or sexual violence (as defined by the Criminal Code of Canada) since the age of 16.

Exploring Violence and Trauma

The breadth of violence I heard about in relation to literacy during interviews and related reading gives an indication of the complex ways violence and its aftermath enters into the adult education setting. Literacy workers described a range of violence they had seen or heard about in their classrooms, and spoke of feeling "inept" as they wondered how to support learners and their learning. In literacy programming, we cannot take refuge in the silence about such trauma, it is vividly present in the classroom in many dimensions. The experience of trauma cannot be framed as "abnormal" and individualized, we cannot fall into the trap of suggesting that learners can go away and "heal" from the trauma and come back to class when they are ready to learn. We must recognize the effects of trauma and create literacy opportunities that are viable for learners who are "familiar with trauma", enabling them to learn while they continue to "live beside the violation"[3].

To maintain silence about the extent of violence in society, or to understand learners' experience in terms of pathology and ill-health is to fail them. Survivors of trauma are like canaries in the mine, rather than seeing them as dysfunctional, we need to recognize that they warn society about the dangers of normalized violence. We should honour the increased sensitivities that living with trauma brings, and design literacy programming that supports learners to value themselves and develop their literacy skills.

Beyond Appearing "Normal": "Hidden" Impacts of Trauma

A range of issues, that are not usually visible take energy away from the literacy learning process for many students who are survivors of trauma. These issues create, in themselves, areas of learning that women must struggle with if they are to be successfully "present" in the classroom and learn to read. The complexity of learners' "presence", their lack of comfort with ambiguity, a tendency to see everything as "all or nothing", are overarching challenges which interlock with a series of issues impinging on literacy learning. These issues include building trust, establishing boundaries, deciding which stories to tell, learning to move out of crises and assessing the level of safety in the class or group.

Seeing the complexity of awareness for both workers and learners around issues like presence, trust, boundaries and crises adds an awareness to why learning to read is such a difficult and lengthy process. Where the struggles around each of these issues are carried out by the literacy learner in private because to reveal her difficulties in these areas is to be judged "abnormal", then the energy required is compounded. Energy is needed not only to struggle with the difficulties, but also to hide this struggle. It is crucial, therefore, that within the literacy program, the range of what is normal is broadened and the discourse is opened up to talk about the struggles that many learners will have in a broad range of areas. If the challenges learners face are an active part of

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25% of all women have experienced physical or sexual violence at the hands of a marital or common-law partner."

[3] These concepts were articulated by Tanya Lewis as part of her thesis defence - I thank her for the tremendous insight of such metaphors for enabling a vision of something outside the all-pervasive imagery of a journey towards health

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the curriculum, then all learners can benefit. Exploring what it takes to be fully present in the classroom and the knowledge gained from the times of less presence; discovering a deeper understanding of ambiguity and middle ground rather than staying with the stark contrasts of all or nothing; considering crises and how to live both in and out of crisis; examining questions of trust in terms of the possibility of trusting their own knowledge and trusting others in the class or group not to judge and put them down; learning to set boundaries and respect the boundaries of others; deciding which stories to tell when; and creating a safer place to learn should be part of the curriculum for all learners.

Learning in the Context of Trauma: The Challenge of Setting Goals

The description of trauma as caused by events which "overwhelm the ordinary systems of care that give people a sense of control, connection and meaning" used by Judith Herman reveals connections between literacy and trauma (Herman, 1992, p.33). Therapists suggest that therapy for trauma victims should be directed at helping the survivor to regain a sense of control, connection and meaning in her life. A shift away from addressing these issues solely as aspects of individual healing and toward a focus on control, connection and meaning as integral to literacy learning is crucial. Control, connection and meaning are all centrally connected to the tasks of setting goals, a key aspect of how literacy programming is increasingly being organized. Setting goals may seem a straightforward task, where skills can be taught to those who have difficulty, but for survivors of trauma it is far from simple. The difficulty is not skills acquisition, but a more complex intertwining of issues, requiring more nuanced learning.

Control is an important terrain for those who have experienced trauma. Feeling out of control, trying to regain control, not wanting to own any control, controlling in hidden manipulative ways, feeling responsible, disowning responsibility, all of this is a complex and fraught area. Seeking control, but feeling helpless and believing that control is an impossibility, is a contradictory dynamic. Being in control also entails being responsible, being blamed and blaming oneself. This complex dynamic around control is important within literacy. Many literacy programs stress learner-centred learning, learners designing their own individualized plan, controlling their own learning and setting goals. Some also seek to involve learners in sharing control of the program through participating on committees or boards of directors. This "mine field" is often entered without preparation or even awareness of how complex and problematic raising control issues may be for some literacy learners as well as for some workers. For survivors of trauma, working with the complexity of control, connection and meaning, goal setting may be a challenging, if not impossible demand, because to set goals you have to believe that you have some possibility of control, to have connection at least to the self, and to believe that life can have meaning.

Engaging the Whole Person in Learning

Recognizing the whole person offers new potential for literacy learning. My awareness of four aspects of the person came primarily from the various Canadian First Nations educators I talked to. Looking at the person in terms of four aspects challenged me to think about how the damage I heard about in my interviews could also lead to new possibilities for literacy work and how a focus on the body, mind, emotions and spirit could be more than just addressing "damage". It could be a process where each aspect was engaged in a creative learning process, where literacy

would be more fully holistic and part of a "healing" process not only of the individual but of the educational process. Canadian First Nation's literacy workers have begun to create models appropriate to their community. The challenge now remains for other communities to explore appropriate models. A further question - whether such models will be an alternative in literacy, leaving the mainstream unchallenged, or whether such shifts can be seen as valuable for all literacy learners - remains. Within literacy learning, there is potential to move away from diagnostic models which pathologize those who have experienced trauma and, instead, to support all literacy learners in learning and claiming their power and questioning the concept of "normal life".

Bridging the Divide between Literacy and Therapy

Traditionally, literacy and therapy are seen as entirely separate. Frequently, however, literacy workers are called upon to carry out a counselling role, though many feel unprepared and unclear whether they should. There is tension between the value of clarity about boundaries between therapy and literacy and the value of recognizing that the division between the two fields is arbitrary. Through creating a variety of bridges between the two disciplines, and making therapy and counselling more visible within literacy programs, the frame that implies that impacts of trauma are only to be addressed in isolation between a woman and her therapist (so that a woman can return to "normal" and resume ordinary life as soon as possible), is interrupted. It is important both to recognize the value of individual therapy and also to move away from assumptions that a woman should go away and heal and come back to literacy when she is "better".

Listening to the range of options currently available inside and outside literacy programs, it was obvious that no single answer would address the question of appropriate links with counselling organizations, or answer whether literacy workers need to be trained in counselling. The situations of literacy workers are so diverse. It did seem crucial that all programs recognize that some learners will be dealing with issues of trauma and may need access to culturally appropriate counselling or other services. Programs need to assess what services are available in their community, consider what capacity is needed within the programs, so that they can provide solid support for learners who are learning in the program, and also seeking counselling.

Few programs currently explore the links they might be able to generate with outside counselling programs or counselling departments in their institution. Some knowledge of counselling within a program, and strong links with counselling services - whether offered internally or by another organization - would enable a program to build greater visibility and more creative alternative possibilities for learners getting counselling support.

Examining the Costs of Bearing Witness

Literacy workers experience an enormous number of challenges in their work. The contradictory pressures in relation to violence silence talk about the extent of violence that they and learners experience, while at the same time leading many workers to believe they should be able to listen to anything learners want to share, provide exhaustive support to learners and successfully teach everyone to read in record time.

Women working in literacy bear witness to the violence in learners' lives. Sometimes they also experience an increased threat of violence in their own lives, because of their role creating a safer space for literacy learning. Many literacy workers feel they have little option but to hear disclosures of violence when learners ask. Whether workers are experienced at setting boundaries or not, there is a cost to themselves and a limit to what else they can take on in their lives as a consequence of their work in literacy. Workers deal with witnessing pain through disclosures and through observing learners' lives. They also frequently struggle with feeling what they offer is inadequate. Workers need a wide variety of places to talk to address these issues. They need peer support and supervision and far greater recognition of the cost of the work they do. They need support and encouragement to recognize their own needs and to look after themselves carefully.

Conclusion

This research challenges the literacy field to break the silences about violence in a myriad of ways. We must create new curriculum, discover new ways of working that normalize the challenges many literacy learners bring to their learning. We must recognize the complexity of many of the demands made in literacy work and provide innovative supports for learners to explore control, connection and meaning, and to learn to set goals and imagine possible change in their lives. Holistic programming may offer innovative ways forward. Links between literacy organizations and organizations offering counselling could support learners' access to counselling and the creation of new program models that do not exclude issues of trauma from learning. Workers need a variety of supports if they are to nurture themselves, to work supportively with learners, to create new options for programming and repeatedly break the silence about the violence in women's lives and make the links between the aftermath of trauma and difficulties with learning.

Notes

I offer a collective thank you to the many people who contributed their wisdom to the process which brought together the ideas and analysis on these pages. A discussion paper, which introduces these research findings in more detail, is available from cclow@web.net, or to download at http://alphaplus.ca and a book will be out soon. (Email jhorsman@idirect.com for more information)

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Knowledge Construction in the Virtual Classroom

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Abstract

This presentation builds on the results of a previous study (Kanuka & Anderson, 1998) which focused on understanding patterns of interaction between and among participants who exhibited varied levels of knowledge construction during an online forum. It was revealed in the first study that the majority of messages were coded as low levels of knowledge construction. This outcome raises the question of whether or not there are factors that can facilitate the process of high levels of knowledge construction in the online environment. In this study we explored the influence of instructional methods on knowledge construction. The results of this study failed to show a relationship between instructional methods and levels of knowledge construction in an online environment.

Cette présentation a été fondée sur les résultats d'une étude antérieure (Kanuka & Anders, 1998) intéractionnelle entre un groupe de participants de différents niveux de connaissances durant une discussion sur l'internet. Il a été révété dans la premiére étude que la majorité des messages étaient codés comme ayant un niveau inférieur de connaissances. Ce résultat questionne si on peut améliorer la facilitation du processus avec un niveau plus élevé de connaissances en utilisant l'internet comme moyen d'apprentissage. Dans cette étude, nous avons exploré l'infuence de méthodes instructionnelles sur différents niveaux de connaissances.

Introduction

A study by Kanuka and Anderson (1998) revealed that, although computer mediated communication can support an interactive learning environment that reduces time, place, and situational barriers, there was little evidence of the construction of new knowledge. Levels of knowledge construction were determined using an interactive analysis model developed by Gunawardena, Lowe, and Anderson (1997). The results from this study raise a number of questions: Are online participants limited in their ability to construct knowledge in a 'text-only' environment with low social presence? Do high levels of knowledge construction occur in face-to-face learning activities? Is the interaction analysis model flawed in its reflection of knowledge construction? Are there motivational or instructional strategies that can move online learning to high levels of knowledge construction? Is it even possible to measure knowledge construction? This study explored the possibility of whether or not different instructional methods have an influence on the levels of knowledge construction using Gunawardena, et al.'s interaction analysis model. The instructional methods explored included: question posing, brainstorming, debate, small group discussion, and case studies.

The Online Conference

Online conferencing has the capacity to support interactive learning environments that support collaboration, reflection and professional development while overcoming time, place and situational barriers (Anderson & Kanuka, 1997). Research on technology-mediated learning reveals that there is no significant difference in learning (Russell, 1997). Yet, in spite of this research, face-to-face learning is still considered by many educators and learners to be superior to online learning (Harasim, 1995). In response to this assumption, a research study by Kanuka and Anderson (1998) attempted to assess the levels of knowledge construction that occurred in online conferences for professional development using an interactive analysis model developed by Gunawardena, Lowe, and Anderson (1997). Using Gunawardena, et al.'s interaction analysis model this study explored the possibility of whether or not different instructional methods have an influence on the levels of knowledge construction. The question for this study was: are certain instructional methods better than others at facilitating high levels of knowledge construction in online learning environments?

The online learning investigated in this study was an undergraduate class of 22 distance learners participating in an optional course for credit toward an education degree. The participants were all practicing adult educators whose average age was 35-40. Geographically, the learners were a dispersed group from Alberta, British Columbia, and the North West Territories who had been working together toward a Bachelor of Education as a cohort for almost a year. The course was designed using a combination of the web to deliver the course content and FirstClass Client software for the learning activities. This research project was funded by the Canadian Federal Government, Office of Learning Technologies.

Instructional Methods

The instructional methods explored in this study included: question posing, brainstorming, debate, small group discussion, and case studies. Following is a brief description of each of the instructional methods and their intended learning outcomes.

Debate: The debate is an instructional method that facilitates articulation of thoughts and argumentation through the use of language (Kanuka & Anderson, in press). Instructors can use debates to enhance their learners' confidence and ability to express viewpoints as well as help them to develop coherent organization and precise expression of ideas structured in a manner that matches the speaker's (or writer's) purpose and intended audience. The desired learning outcome of a debate is to force learners to confront situations that result in contradictions that challenge the learner to acquire better understandings.

Case Method: Much of the literature on adult learning stresses the importance of experiential learning. Case studies provide one such opportunity to enhance learning through the examination of real life situations tailored to raise those issues that the instructor considers important for learners to consider. A case study provides information about a simulated (or sometimes real) situation (Marsick, 1990); learners respond to predetermined questions or develop an action plan. If cases are developed so as to bring about a questioning of learner assumptions and if learners are also provided with the opportunity to examine those assumptions in interactions with others, critical self-reflection will be fostered. Specific outcomes of case studies include: the development of analytic, evaluative and synthesis skills, improvement of

group thinking skills, the provision of opportunities to learn other's point of view, active rather than passive learning, insight between espoused and actual practice, and can help transfer skills to operational settings.

Brainstorming: Brainstorming is an instructional method that is most often used in combination with the nominal group technique (group problem solving) (Korhonen, 1990). Brainstorming is most often used to channel a group's collective thoughts through structured group input over a short period of time. This process can result in fresh solutions to old problems. The desired outcomes of brainstorming include: develop new solutions to existing problems, inspire collective creativity, and effect group synergy (Renner, 1997).

Small Group Discussions: Discussions provide an opportunity for learners to share their knowledge, beliefs, values, and experiences within a small group of people. Generally, small group discussions are spontaneously formed with an instructor guided task to be accomplished within a short period of time. The task usually involves idea-generation, information gathering, question gathering, list-making, or problem solving. The desired outcomes of small group discussions are varied, but often include: provision of individual input in large classes, ice breakers, and assess previous knowledge and experience (Renner, 1997).

Question Posing: The use of questions in education environments is designed to require the learners to engage in more effective thought (Sanders, 1990). Questioning is considered by many educators as the "single most influential teaching act because of the ability of questions to influence the learning process" (Taba in Sanders, 1990, p. 119). Desired learning outcomes of the question method often include: stimulating thinking, subject matter review, discussion leaders, and an ability for the learners to be active participants (Renner, 1997).

Method

To determine if instructional methods have an influence in moving online participants to higher levels of learning, we used an interactive analysis model developed by Gunawardena, Lowe, and Anderson (1997). Summarized, the phases are as follows:

Phase I: Sharing/Comparing of Information. In everyday transactions, this might take the form of ordinary observations, statements of problems or questions. This phase may include an observation, opinion, agreement, corroborating example, clarification and/or identification of a problem.

Phase II: Discovery and exploration of dissonance or inconsistency among the ideas, concepts or statements advanced by different participants. This is defined as an inconsistency between a new observation and the learner's existing framework of knowledge and thinking skills. Operations, which may occur within this phase, might include identification of differences in understanding of terms, concepts, schemas and/or questions to clarify the extent of disagreement.

Phase III: Negotiation of meaning and/or co-construction of knowledge. This phase includes negotiation or clarification of the meaning of terms, identification of areas of agreement and proposal of a compromise or co-construction.

Phase IV: Testing and modification of proposed synthesis or co-construction. Events that occur in this phase include testing against an existing cognitive schema, personal experience, formal data experimentation or contradictory information from the literature.

Phase V: Phrasing of agreement, statement(s) and applications of the newly constructed meaning. This phase encompasses summarizing agreement(s) and metacognitive statements that illustrate new knowledge construction and application.

The interaction phases were placed in a table format. The online course transcripts for each method were printed, separated into instructional methods and coded by the co-researcher, who was not an instructor for the course.

Results

The transcript analysis procedure involved reading and coding the messages to one or more of the five phases. The co-researcher, who coded the messages, experienced difficulty in assigning the messages to each of the phases. Specifically, although the criteria specified in the interaction model was descriptive, it was possible to code a message in phase one and again in five, yet not have evidence of the learner progressing through phases two, three and four. Thus, the ability to code messages without going through the phases of the model progressively is a flaw in the model, resulting in inaccurate coding. Another limitation of this research is that it does not acknowledge learner perceptions of their knowledge construction.

In spite of these problems the messages were coded and the problems in ratings discussed and noted. The results of the coding were overwhelmingly in the first phase of knowledge construction (approximately 90% in phase one for all instructional methods).

Discussion

The results of this research did not provide evidence that instructional methods influence levels of knowledge construction. Consistent in findings with the study by Kanuka and Anderson (1998) is that there were low levels of knowledge construction. This leaves us with the same questions we had at the beginning of the study:

- Are online participants limited in their ability to construct knowledge in a 'text-only' environment with low social presence?
- Do high levels of knowledge construction occur in face-to-face learning activities?
- Is the interaction analysis model flawed in its reflection of knowledge construction?
- Are there motivational or instructional strategies that can move online learning to high levels of knowledge construction?
- Is it even possible to measure knowledge construction?

In response to the question: Are online participants limited in their ability to construct knowledge in a 'text-only' environment with low social presence? Evidence from Russell's (1997) meta-analysis ("no significant difference phenomenon") indicates that this is not a likely explanation. As the results of this study are counter-intuitive, we cannot rule out the possibility that there might be a flaw in the interaction analysis model itself. Moreover, it might not be possible to measure knowledge construction objectively in the first place, whether this is face-to-face or online, because knowledge construction may not be an observable activity. Is trying to measure knowledge construction in the end more like taking a picture of the wind?

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RESPONSE-ABILITY FOR WRITING RESEARCH THAT HONOURS PRACTITIONERS' WAYS OF KNOWING

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Abstract

This research paper traces the early processes of an Appreciative Inquiry project that strives to honour practitioners' ways of knowing in writing a Master's thesis. I explicate my research practices as faculty advisor and graduate students' exemplars of their "best" practitioner writing to articulate our mutual response-abilities in inquiry-guided research.

RESPONSE-ABILITY FOR WRITING RESEARCH THAT HONOURS PRACTITIONERS' WAYS OF KNOWING

> *If I am truly to be response-able, the most productive conversation ought to occur...among all of us collectively engaged in such research. If I am truly to be a response-able teacher, the conversation must engage us all equally in change, in interrogating our identities and our role in institutions.* (Neilsen, 1998, p. 110)

This paper emerges out of my response-ability as a faculty advisor for supervising, reading, and responding to successive drafts of the research theses of graduate students who are experienced practitioners in diverse areas of adult education. An undergraduate degree is a prerequisite for entry into the Master's in Adult Education program at St. Francis Xavier University; however, many practitioners are returning to academic study after a long hiatus, and most have not engaged in a formal research inquiry in an academic context. "Practitioners' ways of knowing" in my title is a deliberate echo of women's ways of knowing (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986) and takes notice that over 2/3 of these practitioners re-entering the academy are women. Experiential, embodied, situated, response-able and connected knowing suffuses both practitioner and feminist epistemologies. I have written elsewhere of the conflation of "practice" and "woman" and "body" on the left seam of these enduring dualisms: *practice*-theory; *woman*-man; *body*-mind (Lander, 1999, in press).

Lorri Neilsen's (1998) play on words in "response-ability" delights me; it offers a practitioner-friendly shorthand to the moral and dialogical approach to writing a research thesis. This paper traces my early interpretations of response-ably edging practitioners' ways of writing into the academic thesis but it is a bold work-in-progress. In this paper, I go only as far as laying out my research methodology and posing tentative and emerging interpretations. I expose exemplars of my own research practices that framed dialogical inquiry into practitioners' "good" writing with two cohorts of graduate students (one group of 11-- 8 women and 3 men; and another group of 12 women). Graduate students attend a 3-week residential Orientation at the University at the beginning of their Master's program and then return home and to their practice to complete their studies, including the writing of their theses at a distance. A practice-based research project forms the core of their inquiry and their thesis.

The Research Methodology

Appreciative Inquiry (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987) is a participatory action research methodology that is usually associated with organizational change. I adapt this methodology to engage graduate students in appreciating their own and each other's "good" writing as practitioners. Appreciative Inquiry engages participants in telling stories of their "peak experiences" and formulating "provocative propositions" for action. In adapting Appreciative Inquiry to practitioners' writing, I am alert to Bazerman's (1994) call for teachers and learners to become familiar with the genres of the systems they participate in. Bazerman explicates genres as "kinds of statements...recognizable as speech acts, doing various kinds of work" (p. 32) and in the educational environment the oral and written are intermixed, e.g., assignment handouts, lectures, group discussion, and teacher feedback. The genre of the Master's thesis calls on many supporting genres

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including advisor feedback, a reflexive journal, a learning portfolio, field notes, audiotaped interviews with participants, listserv and e-mail messages, and letters. Familiarity with genres enacts response-ability as teacher and learner can then "make a kind of sense of complex interactions and ...locate his or her actions in relation to the communicative actions of multiple others" (p. 32).

In my adaptation of Appreciative Inquiry then, I ask students to bring samples of their "best" writing from their practice and to tell the story that springs from the sample. In the process, participants become familiar with practitioner genres. Appreciative Inquiry engages learners in imagining possible worlds. Appreciative Inquiry is response-able rhetorical practice or as Lyne (1990) puts it, "talk 'on its way' from 'is' to 'ought,' making that connection only in the play of language" (p. 38). Bushe and Pitman (19[illegible]1) characterize Appreciative Inquiry as "stalking the flow" of the whole and "amplifying through fanning." This evokes a sense of the play of language.

Appreciative Inquiry challenges Heron's (1996) contention that "practical knowing" or "knack" cannot be known through language. "Knack is at the heart of knowing how" and that it is "a *knowing of the excellence of its doing* [that] makes it a knack. This is a criterion of quality that is intrinsic to action and is ineffable; for each specific knack, it is beyond language and conceptual formulation" (p. 44). Appreciative Inquiry inaugurates my rival discourse that "knack" is effable (See spell check spin!), meaning "knowing in the excellence of its doing" can be appreciated in narrative genres and in the "play of language."

My beginning hunch is (was) that Appreciative Inquiry into practitioner writing will not constitute "knack" in terms of prescriptive conceptions, the should-and-must categorical, step-wise approaches to learning to write (Hansman & Wilson, 1998). I pose the possibility that it is the knack of writing that separates practitioners from researchers. Following Wolcott (1995), I respectfully call my hunch "entry-level theorizing" or "bias." I accept that "writing is the essence of research" (Usher, Bryant, & Johnston, 1997, p. 222). Levine (1997) insists that expert practitioners do many of the things that researchers do but "in a very fluid and intuitive way" (p. 1). This fluid, intuitive, practical knowing is typically not "in writing." I have another hunch that the written narrative genre is a natural for capturing this fluidity of practitioner knowing. "Narrativity links the idea of authorship to that of agency, i.e, the researcher as an active teller of plausible tales of discovery and invention and not simply...a passive witness and reporter of events" (Usher, Bryant, & Johnston, 1997, pp. 222-223).

Exemplars of Research/Writing Knack

Exemplars go beyond examples. Examples suggest one choice is as good as another whereas researchers and writers choose exemplars that are most *relevant* to the phenomenon, that "represent" the phenomenon, and that animate the participants' and the writer's own voice (Lindlof, 1995, p. 268). To be response-able researchers, our writing must lay out our inquiry in exemplars (Chenail, 1995; Lindloff, 1995; Mishler, 1990; Neilsen, 1998; Smith, 1996). It seems to me that exemplars of practitioner writing that emerge from Appreciative Inquiry also promise to "re-present" knack in Heron's sense of "the knowing of the excellence of its doing." Exemplars embody the whole approach... in terms of people, events and physical symbols (Vail, 1998, p. 147).

I hold with Neilsen (1998) and Mishler (1990) that exemplars of how I do my work as a researcher make my text authentic and useful for future inquiry. I anticipate that by times my exemplars of my research practices may even qualify as "knack." Chenail (1995) and Smith (1996) extract exemplars exclusively from the field data to re-present and code the phenomenon around one concept or category at a time. Writing research relies on the "eventfulness" of the text (Lindlof, 1995) embodied in exemplars of my research practices alongside exemplars of the phenomenon of practitioners' writing.

Exemplars of My Research Practices

I invite students to participate in my research project by preparing to tell each other the story of their "best" writing experience coming out of their practice. I qualify my invitation in terms of the choices they might make in participating, including the options of "passing" on my invitation, or on confining their participation to responding to others' stories. I invite students to think of the keywords that make their writing "best." I invite students to be prepared to respond to each other's stories with keywords of "excellence" that immediately spring to mind. I advise students that I will be audiotaping and transcribing the dialogue. I advise them that I will provide each participant with a copy of the transcript of their writing story and the responses to it. At that time, they will have the options of either withdrawing their words from all future publication or consenting in writing to the publication of my interpretations interlarded with their own raw-data interpretations. I declare one of the teaching-learning purposes of this research activity is to sensitize them to the response-abilities, assumptions, and practices of research interviewing by positioning them as the "subjects" on the other side of the microphone (Larson, 1997). These contradictions between the theory and practice of participatory narrative inquiry haunt qualitative research; here they become a situated learning experience for myself and graduate students, and a subtext of my inquiry.

I introduce students to my research well in advance of the 2-hour Appreciative Inquiry into practitioners' "best" writing. At the end of the first week of Orientation, I introduce my research project as *Appreciative Inquiry into Practitioners' Writing*. Orientation engages graduate students in formulating their own learning goals and in thinking of possibilities for their own research projects in support of their learning goals. In a parallel process, I frame my research project in terms of supporting *my* learning goal of "honouring practitioners' ways of knowing." I assign readings to support this inquiry: Bushe and Pitman (1991), *Appreciative Process* and Weick (1996), *Speaking to Practice*.

The Teaching-Learning Response-ability of Inquiry-Guided Research

The response-able and reflexive dimensions of Appreciative Inquiry into practitioners' writing support my teaching and learning purposes. In the context of doing research with graduate students' during their 3-week Orientation to the Master's program, I am deliberately orienting these adult learners to a community of practice mediated by some of the cultural tools of research that will come into play in their own inquiry-guided research. Lave and Wenger (1991) introduce "communities of practice" to illuminate the concept of situated learning and the engagement in social practice as the fundamental process by which we learn and become who we are. Wenger (1998) names these practices as "the property of a kind of community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise"(p. 45). For my yet-to-come analysis of the audiotaped

dialogues, I favour Wertsch's (1998) microdynamic analysis of mediated action that assumes an irreducible tension between agents, cultural tools, and context (p. 176).

What then were my combined teaching, learning, and research practices that inaugurated this particular community of practice? I am reminded of Bazerman's (1994) understanding of teacher response-ability within this process, and expand this to include researcher response-ability. "It is within the students, of course, that the learning occurs, but it is within the teacher, who sits at the juncture of forces above and below and sideways, that the learning situations are framed" (p. 62).

I introduce Appreciative Inquiry by telling students my "best" writing story from practice (I no longer have the sample) and the keywords that for me, characterize my writing as "excellent." My "best" was a letter of apology. In the context of situated learning and communities of practice, my utterances and performance of writing could be considered "legitimate peripheral participation" and "cognitive apprenticeship" (Lave & Wenger, 1991), the terms that characterize the processes by which newcomers are initiated into a community of practice. I do not believe my research practices "reproduce" the existing membership of a community of practice. The apprenticeship metaphor applies to my practices insofar as I provide the "scaffolding" (Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976) or "framing" (Bazerman, 1994) for learners to try out alternative ways of writing research that may contest their previous conceptions of academic writing.

Exemplars of the Phenomenon of Practitioner Writing

The genres of practitioner writing that emerged in the stories of "best" writing across the two sessions of Appreciative Inquiry are not currently reproduced in most research literacies. Diverse practitioner genres were re-presented in the narratives about writing, including:

- newspaper editorial on food security
- e-mail message to a senior administrator advocating for an adult learner-student
- published book on strategic planning for community education
- instructional manual for occupational health and safety in construction industry
- thank-you to university residence staff--lyrics sung to guitar accompaniment

My emerging interpretations based on the keywords and phrases of "excellent" practitioner writing are challenging my entry-level bias that the knack of writing is something other and more noble than step-wise, prescriptive categories. The first cohort's post-it responses to each other's writing repeated prescription-laden words such as "grammatically correct," "concise," "clarity," "well-organized" and "effective use of white space in the layout." However, the categories for provocative propositions in both cohorts were generated entirely from such descriptive post-it responses as "heart," "keeps reader present," "purposeful," "synthesis of ideas, feeling and knowledge (as info)," and "based on lived experience." By contrast, the second cohort wrote hardly any prescriptive points on their post-its. Surely variety in local context, cultural tools, and agents serves to engage participants in mediated action that "produces" and "re-produces" communities of practice? This is different from "reproducing" an existing status quo membership.

My work-in-progress is now proceeding on a newly emergent bias: BOTH prescriptive, step-wise approaches to writing AND the narrative genre that writes to a reader are reciprocal and response-able processes (and cultural tools) in generating practitioners' and researchers' "best" writing.

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RECLAIMING THE DEVELOPMENTAL IMPERATIVE OF CRITICAL SOCIAL THEORY: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PRACTICE OF ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract
Habermas' critical social theory has had a significant impact on adult education thought. However, its actual impact on practice has been minimal. This paper proposes that the practical aspects of Habermasian theory can only be realized through reclaiming the developmental perspective that was an instrumental part of his original work. This paper will outline the developmental aspects of Habermas' critical social theory. This will then be extended by looking at further advances in developmental thinking, exploring the implications both for Habermasian critical social theory and for the practice of adult education.

Introduction

Peukertruth (1993) has suggested that we are currently facing a crisis that calls into the question the patterns of behavior of a whole era. I have suggested this in some of my (Lauzon, 1998[a]; 1998[b]) previous work, arguing that there are two main challenges facing adult education: helping people live within the biological limits of the planet, including recognizing how social and economic inequities are related to environmental degradation, and learning to live with diversity. This crisis, however, is being further exacerbated by economic globalization whereby the environment is increasingly commodified while cultural diversity is destroyed under the homogenizing forces of the transnational corporate world. Thus adult education, along with education in general, is turned into a commodity to be purchased by *consumers* (learners) while the curriculum is directed by *clients* (private sector). Welton (1995) argues that the critical social theory of Habermas can provide guidance for meeting the challenges identified above. Clearly Welton has good company as Habermas's writings have, over the last few years, become increasingly influential in adult education (Connelly, 1996).

This paper begins by arguing that Habermas's critical social theory has been fragmented with some theorists (i.e. Mezirow) embracing the elements of Habermas's theory that pertain to the individual while others, such as Welton, have focused more on the structural dimensions of Habermas's theory. This paper argues that the separation of these two dimensions renders the application of Habermas to adult education impotent. The individual cannot be understood independent of the larger environment while the larger environment cannot change independent of the action of individuals. To deal with this we need to understand that Habermas's theory is a framework that is both phylogenetic and ontogenetic and premised on a developmental logic (Connelly, 1997). This paper will attempt to reclaim that developmental logic and expand on it, arguing that the difficulty with the developmental logic inherent in Habermas's theory is it is premised on Piaget's stage of formal operations and does not account for further developments in our understanding of human development.

Reclaiming the Developmental Imperative in Habermas's Critical Social Theory

According to Connelly (1996: 247) Habermas's critical social theory is an "ontogenetic-phylogenetic framework, which asserts a progressive, developmental process of rationality and learning, and communicative competence, which takes place at the level of both the individual and society." In other words, Habermas has proposed a macro theoretical framework whereby cultures and individuals develop as they interact.

As stated previously, Habermas's work has received increasing attention from adult educators. However, for the most part, adult educators have fragmented his theory and in doing so lost its essence as a macro theory. For example, Mezirow is credited with introducing Habermas to the field of adult education (Welton, 1993), however, he has focused on the individual and has neglected the larger social context of Habermas's work. Others, on the other hand, such as Welton, have focused almost

exclusively on the social dimension of critical social theory, ignoring the individual. Connelly (1996) suggests neither of these positions does justice to the richness and fullness of Habermas's work and its implication for adult education; a balance needs to be struck and this requires that we fully acknowledge the developmental aspects of human development and its relationship to the broader socio-economic environment and the dialectical tension between the two. For example, McCarthy (1978: 246) argues that Habermas's theory is based upon "organizational principles of society as sociostructural innovations that institutionalize developmental logical levels of learning; they establish structural conditions for technical and practical learning processes at particular stages of development." However, with the exception of Mezirow, the individual developmental dimensions of Habermas's work has been essentially ignored. This, I would argue, needs to be reclaimed

For Habermas (1984), Piaget's work is important because it distinguishes stages of learning that are not characterized by different content, but are characterized by structurally differentiated levels of learning ability. With each structurally differentiated shift in learning ability there is the development of new learning capabilities that were not possible in the earlier stage, and an extension of one's worldview. This later aspect is clearly identifiable in Mezirow's work when he argues that perspective transformations lead to more inclusive ways of viewing the world. McCarthy (1978: 247), in describing the use of Piaget by Habermas, writes that

> ...the developmental-logical approach requires the specification of a hierarchy of structural wholes in which the later, more complex, and more encompassing developmental stages presuppose and build upon the earlier.

It should be noted that while Piaget's focus is the individual, that Habermas maintained that the developmental-logical approach applied to both individuals and cultures. Central to these shifts, or movement from one stage to the next, is a fundamental shift in the way one engages and understands the world; the way in which one makes meaning and the ways in which one engages others changes as these structural changes take place. Thus both individual development and social development play an instrumental role in Habermas's critical social theory.

The Developmental Demands of the Ideal Speech Conditions

While Habermas's critical theory can be understood within the context of the three knowledge domains, it has been the communicative domain that has occupied a good deal of the debate in the application of Habermas to adult education. Fundamental to Habermas's concept of communicative action is the ideal speech situation. According to Habermas the following claims should be able to be made when one person talks with another:

1. What is said is comprehensible, that is, it obeys certain rules of language so that there is a meaning that can be understood by the other.

2. The propositional content (the factual assertions) of whatever is said is true.

3. The speaker is justified in saying whatever is said. In other words, when we use speech in any given context, we invoke certain social rights or "norms".

4. And the speaker is sincere in whatever is said, that is, he or she does not intend to deceive the listener (Welton, 1993: 84-85).

Now while this notion of ideal speech condition is utopian, and I recognize that Habermas only proposed it as a goal for striving toward, it is premised on those engaged in communicative action to be

operating from a formal operations stage of development. For example, assume two people are engaged in a dialogue, one operating at a stage of formal operations, the other operating at the level of concrete operations. The individual operating from the stage of formal operations may state something that is "true" and may use appropriate language. However, the individual operating from the stage of concrete operations may hear but may not understand what is being said because its comprehension requires logic based upon formal operations. Thus, while the conditions of the ideal speech situation were adhered to there is still a problem as a result of individuals operating at different stages of development. The underlying premise of Habermas and Piaget is that adults normally progress to the stage of formal operations. However, as Kegan (1994) points out, many adult are not prepared to participate in the modern world that demands they operate at the stage of formal operations. Consequently, communicative interaction among individuals at different stages of development is characterized by a power imbalance if developmental differences exist among those participating in a communicative interaction. Furthermore, I suspect that those operating from an earlier stage of development are more likely to defer to the authority of the other rather than vice versa. However, I acknowledge that this may not always be the case.

Further Developments in Developmental Thought: Implications for Critical Social Theory

While Habermas is indebted to the developmental thought of Piaget, his writing has failed to further reflect changes in our understanding of developmental theory. In some sense, there is a treatment of Piaget as the definitive statement on development and that formal operations constitutes the terminal development point for adults. This, as we will see, is not entirely true.

Peukertruth (1993: 160) has argued that the critique of reason by reason is inadequate; it is not adequate to "deal with the consequences of its actions, so that, finally, the repercussions of expanding, competing, and accelerating change systems of actions on a finite world cannot be comprehended." I (1998[a]) have argued that rationality has benefitted us greatly; it has given us rational comprehension, self-reflexiveness, historical time, transcendence of nature and body, formal operational thinking, introspection, legally recognized self-consciousness and the idea of personhood. I also argue that it has brought its terrors and these include substitute sacrifices, homicide and genocide, exploitation, massive slavery and violent exploitation, hedonistic overindulgence and widely exaggerated substitute gratifications, biocide and now even geocide. I have further argued that rationality is giving way to a vision-logic that combines the developmental stage of postformal operations with dialectical reasoning. For example, Sinnott (1984: 299) argues that while formal operations is a powerful way of coming to know the world, an adult's knowledge of interpersonal relations - the essence of communicative action - requires

"cognitive operations that take necessary subjectivity, and the unavoidable unity of subject and object, into account in structuring knowledge." Thus it is important to note that advanced stages of knowing characteristic of post formal operations require subjectivity. However, this subjectivity is qualitatively different than pre-scientific or pre-rational subjectivity characteristic of earlier stages of development; this subjectivity acknowledges that we cannot separate the individual who is constructing knowledge from the process of knowledge construction. This, according to Basseches (1984) means the basis for postformal operations is relativistic thinking whereby it is assumed that there is no universal order, but there are different orders that arise as a result of culture and history. Furthermore, each of these orders that arise have a rational-logical consistency, however, they are different as a result of differing assumptions that give rise to differing orders. From a formal operations perspective, there is no mechanism for calling into question the assumptions for they exist outside the order. However, postformal thought allows us to recognize many differing logically consistent orders and this forces us to call into question why they are different which leads to the identification of differing assumptions. This, in many ways, is at the heart of postmodern deconstructionist dilemma whereby deconstructionism leads to nihilism; we can take things apart but there is no way of putting them back

together. Kramer and Bacelar (1994: 37) capture this when they write that relativistic thinking provides no mechanism for "integrating across contexts and time frames to provide for meaningful commitment to values, growth and the like." In other words, how do we find common ground between different, and perhaps even competing contradictory orders?

Basseches (1984) suggests that to accomplish this dialectical reasoning is needed. Simply stated, dialectical reasoning allows integration between differing orders to occur across time and that these orders are more inclusive. The important aspect of dialectical reasoning is that it takes as its starting point that the world changes and that ordering is effected and influenced by history, culture and values. Basseches captures the essence of this when he writes that

> ...dialectical thinking is an organized approach to analyzing and making sense of the world one experiences that differs fundamentally from formal analysis. Whereas the latter involves efforts to find fundamental fixed realities - basic elements and immutable laws - the former attempts to describe fundamental processes of change and the dynamic relationships through which this change occurs (1984: 24).

He further writes that

> In general, formal analyses which establishes categories of analysis from the thinkers own perspectives tend to remain relatively impermeable to the differing perspectives of others. Dialectical thinking, in contrast, is actively oriented toward shifting categories of analysis creating more inclusive categories, in response to the perspective of others.

In other words, vision-logic does not assimilate difference, it accommodates difference through integration over time. The implication of this is that all knowledge is contextual or local (Lauzon, 1998[a]). While the universal whithers, and deconstructionism leads us down the path of nihilism, there is a way out that allows differing systems of order to interact and integrate if we meet the developmental demands of this emergent developmental epistemology.

Conclusions

This paper has attempted to reclaim the developmental logic of Habermas's critical theory, and in particular acknowledge his indebtedness to Piaget, while maintaining that Habermas's work needs to be expanded through exploring the implications of further developments in developmental psychology. Furthermore, this paper has focused on the individual and while I have focused on the individual, the ideas put forth here can only be understood in the larger context of Habermas's work; individual development can only be understood in terms of its relationship to the social world and changes in the social world can only be understood as the result of the actions of individuals. In the words of Carlyle, a subject from a study of people who live committed lives,

> Malcolm (Malcolm X) was always trying to change individuals. Martin (Martin Luther King) was trying to change society. You have to do both if you want real progress. It's important to change an individual who thinks there's no hope, and it's important to change the system that destroys hope. You have to do both (Daloz et al., 1996:57).

I agree with Carlyle and I think Habermas would too. Adult education needs to focus on individual change, particularly developmental change, while still focusing on social and structural change. It is only then that we will be able to honor the theoretical richness that Habermas has bestowed upon us. Furthermore, we need to acknowledge that Piaget's stage of formal operations is not the terminal point of development and the emergence of a new developmental logic not only has implications for

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individuals, but has implications for how we organize socially and politically.

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CAN WE DESIGN CULTURALLY SENSITIVE INTERACTIVE DISTANCE EDUCATION? - MAYBE

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Abstract
The advances in technology coupled with the exponential growth of distance education sh uld be of increasing concern to adult educators. Recognizing that distance education and the application of various technologies in distance education is constructed from a particular cultural perspective, this paper proposes to challenge this monolithic view of distance education. It begins by making explicit distance education as a community of practice and the implications this has had for so-called *marginalized* peoples. Arguing that this form of distance education is a form of neo-colonialism, it proposes a heuristic framework for designing distance education that integrates the concept of situated knowledge with Giroux's concept of border crossings. Implications for application are then examined.

Introduction

Distance education, as an enterprise, is growing exponentially. I can assert this with confidence. We can also assert that distance education is embracing technology in an unprecedented fashion. Again, I believe I can assert this with confidence and believe that no one would, for the most part, disagree. Lauzon (1999) in examining the growth of the use of educational technology in general, has argued that education is being dominated by market needs and the global economy. He further asserts that market domination leads to the eclipsing of diversity in education. All culture is reduced to the culture of the market. This negates the ability of education to respond to diversity. Flannery (1995) has argued that while these market demands for more lifelong learning are important, there is an moral imperative to ensure that education can accommodate culturally diverse populations.

This paper begins by arguing that we need to understand distance education as a community of practice and how it includes some people and excludes others. This is followed by suggestions as to how we, as the community of distance educators, can meet the needs of culturally diverse learners.

Distance Education as a Community of Practice

Distance education, as a field of study and practice, is having a tremendous impact on education and the organization of education. This cannot be denied. But we must also question what the implications are of a field of inquiry that defines its evolution strictly in terms of technological development. Part of this is accounted for by Sumner (1998) who argues that to understand the history of distance education and the economic and social role it has played is to understand how the lifeworld has been colonized by the system. She argues that distance education, from its earliest inception, has been devised and designed to serve the interests of those who have power, ensuring the continued domination of the system over the lifeworld and protection of their interests. Lauzon (1999), in tracing the history of educational technology, has argued that its roots can be traced back to the scientific and industrial revolutions and the emergence of capitalism. Muffoletto (1994) has argued that historically educational technology has been grounded in the project of modernity and is guided by the principles of logical positivism, social control and system management. He further argues that this is a powerful discourse whereby the agenda of the powerful is obscured by the presentation of technology as value neutral hardware. Lauzon reiterates this point from a contemporary standpoint of economic globalization when he states that "Educational institutions, in an effort to meet increasing expectations generated by the private sector, in conjunction with declining public resources, see technology as a way of increasing their market share (i.e. open learning) while realizing efficiencies. It can lower their *unit cost* and increase their *revenues* (1999: 6)!" Education, from this perspective, is characterized by a technocratic ethos and an instrumental rationality dominated by *practicalities* and *commonsense*. Education, within this context, is presented as apolitical, knowledge is believed to be value neutral, and learning and educational theory is dominated by the ideology of individualism (Lauzon, 1998). As Yeamen (1994: 22) notes, the role of education is to be the dispensers of the "unequivocal, objective truth." Educational technologies' roles within this enterprise, is to control the educational experience while ensuring the dissemination if efficient. There, are, however, those argue that technology allows for active distance learning. This, however, is merely an illusion meant to deceive. While learners are actively engaged, it is the technology that they are actively engaged with rather than engaging the content in critically meaningful ways. Despite the rhetoric about active learning and effective pedagogy, the expansion of distance education offerings is driven by "economic

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necessity" and this is consistent with the ethos of an area of inquiry and practice that defines its evolution in terms of technological developments.

Utilizing situated cognition as a theoretical and analytical lens, distance education can be viewed as a *community of practice*. Simply stated a community of practice is a consensus among knowledgeable practitioners. The boundaries of the community are delineated and community coherence maintained through agreement upon the main concepts, ideas, theories, beliefs, values and appropriate actions by those exercising authority and leadership within the community. Lauzon, however, has argued that

> any community of practice is embedded in a larger context and the larger context determines what that community of practice believes, values, and practices; communities of practice do not exist in a vacuum and are influenced buy socio-historical and socio-cultural sources of knowledge, values, and beliefs (1999: 5).

Thus any community of practice is embedded in a larger context that gives it shape and form. It is only in knowing and understanding a community of practice, particularly its beliefs and values that one understands its actions. Distance education has been technologically driven, embracing the ideology of scientism and individualism, whereby learners are "extracted" from their communal context and enculturated into a way-of-being that perpetuates the system colonizing the lifeworld; distance education's function is reduced to cultural reproduction rather than cultural production.

Culture and Distance Education

If we now examine learning and learners within the cultural context, we can begin to understand how educational inequities arise. For example, Lauzon (1999: 5) has argued that

> any individual learner participates in a variety of communities of practice which may overlap and share similarities in terms of values, beliefs, or practices, or different communities may be the antithesis of one another in terms of these fundamental dimensions.

He further argues that the more congruent a learners values and beliefs are with the community of practice in which they are embedded, the more likely they are to be "successful." Flannery (1995) suggests that the very function of education is to reduce groups of persons to a single cultural identity. In other words, an educational system that cannot accommodate diversity actively works to discipline those designated as "other." Giroux (1997: 236)) argues that this type of education "highlights how differences in power and privilege authorize who speaks, how fully, under what conditions, against what issues, for whom, and with what degree consistent, institutionalized support." It is repressive to those who are unwilling to tow the party-line. Clearly when distance learners from culturally diverse backgrounds enter the community of practice known as distance education they are being oppressed by having to adhere to a story that is not their story, to subscribe to a knowledge that is not their knowledge, to adhere to values that are not their values. Powell (1997) captures this when he acknowledges that learners' attitudes, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors will be reflective of their cultural group. The question becomes what happens when the demands of learning conflict with the demands of the learner's cultural group? Clearly a dissonance will arises resulting in the marginalization of the learner whereby they learn to "play" the "game", force the learner to withdraw in order to honor that which they are, or abandon their cultural identity and embrace that which is advocated within the community of practice.

All of this leads to the question can distance education design be culturally sensitive? This will be the question we take up in the next section of this paper.

Can We Design Culturally Sensitive Distance Education? - Maybe

Can we design culturally sensitive distance education. I believe it is possible, but not without a willingness and concerted effort on our part as a community of practice.

First, we need to cast our gaze inward, to acknowledge the inherent biases and prejudices that our community of practice is guilty of perpetuating (Branch, 1997). Powell (1997) argues that we need to be sensitive and aware of the existence and legitimacy of other cultures and actively work to affirm those perspectives. He argues that

> The teacher and designer, often unaware of these differences because they are "culturally insulated", find themselves without a vision of educating beyond their own personalistic and ethnocentric views, and without sufficient repertoire to challenge traditional regularities they had learned so well as students (Powell, 1997: 7).

Thus we need to emerge from our ethnocentric capsule, actively engaging the very assumptions that guide our community of practice. Emergence from our ethnocentric capsule, acknowledging that there are multiple perspectives, leads to the recognition that learning theory must be critical, for "all human interactions, including the theoretical text of learning that supports the teaching/learning exchange, must be viewed as political (Flannery, 1995: 156). But this is only the start, a beginning. Once recognized, how do we move beyond this point in a meaningful way.

First, we need to recognize cognition is structured by activity and setting. Thus learning, in its broadest sense, is social and the social cannot be separated from the personal. Second, we need to recognize that peoples' voice is a product of their culture, history and their relationship to power. This also connects the personal to the social. Third, we need to recognize that the setting of education, in this case distance education, often replicates relationships among culturally diverse groups and perpetuates existing hegemonic relationships. Flannery (1995: 156) argues that learning theory must account for the structural dimensions of oppression and captures this when he writes that

> To give voice to multiple individuals and cultures, learning theory must also understand the social, cultural, political, economic, and historical constructs that silence and influence them.

He further argues that in order to move beyond the narrow confines of the self in education (i.e. individualism) we must create a space that allows for the telling of the stories of the missing voices: women, people of color, the economically deprived.

Creating spaces for the voices of those not present means creating a space to accommodate those voices in meaningful ways. It is not just a case of telling their stories as a form of catharsis that allows us to move onto to the *real* learning, it is actively engaging their stories and using them as the basis for constructing knowledge. This requires, as Lauzon (1997) has suggested, a reconstructive postmodern perspective on epistemology. This perspective is captured in the following quote.

> The educator is no longer the authority but is a member of a collective striving to develop a learning community through common understanding. Community means being responsible not only for one's own learning, but being responsible for the learning of others. This often requires that we "bear witness" to the stories of others, to affirm those stories and to affirm them as individuals or collectives of people (Lauzon,1998: 141).

Therefore we need to acknowledge and honor narrative as vital to constructing shared understandings, meanings, and knowledge that is inclusive.

The challenge is how do we accomplish this with a geographically dispersed learning population characteristic of distance education. It is worth noting that the convergence of communication and computer technology has improved our ability to present to and engage the individual learner in individual *active learning* (stand alone multimedia); it has also opened the communicative dimension for distance education. Fro example, Boyd (1991) has argued that these technologies have the capacity to be domesticating or liberating. It is in the communicative dimension where their liberative capacity resides; it is the through the communicative dimension that we can learn to cross borders and re-map borders with others to make them more inclusive. For example, Giroux (1992) has argued that in order to re-map borders to be more inclusive learners need an opportunity to be heard and articulate their experience in a language that is meaningful to them. This provides opportunities to engage differences, identify similarities and commonalites, making explicit values and beliefs within various communicative practices. Barbules and Rice (1991) maintain that it is through dialoguing across differences that we become aware of how one frame of reference imposes meaning and that there can be multiple frames of references, hence multiple meanings to anyone stimuli, event or theory. This points to a contingency theory of truth whereby we are confronted with acknowledging that specific interpretive frameworks are embedded in historical webs of power relationships; it demonstrate how borders are created and how some people are included and some

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are excluded, eroding the idea of universal metanarratives, creating the space for the plethora of narratives that is characteristic of the global village.

Conclusions

This paper started with the question as to whether we can design culturally sensitive distance education. The answer was maybe. Technological developments in distance education have created a communicative window of opportunity. However to take advantage of this we will have to be committed to examining our values and beliefs as a community of practice and determine how they have led to actions that include some while excluding others. We will need to be committed to hearing the stories of others into truth, recognizing that stories of those of others, of those outside the borders, of those who are oppressed, will elicit feelings of defensiveness and guilt. We must learn to sit with that, to accept ownership of those feelings and to commit ourselves to dialoguing across difference, encouraging others members of our learning communities to do the same. Education that is sensitive to the plethora of cultures is process oriented not product oriented. Ursula Franklin (1990: 12) suggests this in her book *The Real World of Technology* when she writes that

> Technology is not the sum of artifacts, of wheels and gears, of the rails and electronic transmitters. Technology is a *system*. It entails far more than its individual material components. Technology involves organization, procedures, symbols, new words, equations, and most of all, a mindset.

She continues to argue that when a technology is defined as a practice then that practice will define the content. As a field which defines itself, in fact traces its history as a history of technology, we need to be acutely aware of how this defines our content. Finally, Franklin distinguishes between two types of technological developments. First, there are prescriptive technological development characterized by specialization of process whereby steps are delineated and specialists are responsible for certain tasks and is constructed within the context of production. Then there are technological developments that are *holistic* whereby control resides within the individual and decisions are made while in process (i.e. pottery). This is based upon a conception of growth. Clearly distance education has historically been indebted to a production mode mentality and a commitment to prescriptive technology use. Yet as Franklin writes "If ever there was a growth process, if ever there was a a holistic process, a process that cannot be divided into rigid predetermined steps, it is education (1990:29)." If distance education is to be culturally sensitive we need to recognize it as a holistic process, a process of engagement, a process of dialogue. We have the means, the question remains do we have the will?

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SPIRITUALITY IN THE WORKPLACE: THE SIXTH DISCIPLINE OF A LEARNING ORGANIZATION

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Abstract

The focus of this paper is on exploring spiritual dimensions of Senge's model of a learning organization and find intersections between some age-old traditions and the emergent notions of a "spiritual" workplace in contemporary management theory and practice.

Résumé

Cet article porte surtout sur les dimensions spirituelles du modèle de Senge, "l'organisation quiest toujours en train de changer", et cherche aussi des similitudes entre les anciennes traditions et les ide'es qui naissent, d'un milieu de travail "spirituel", dans la théorique et pratique de la gestion contemporaine.

Introduction

Man is a transitional being; he is not final...
There is Power within that knows beyond our knowings;
We are greater than our thoughts.
(Sri Aurobindo)

Described as "last of the great *Rishis*" by noble-laureate Romain Rolland, Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) was a great spiritual visionary. Interpreting the philosophy and wisdom enshrined in the ancient traditions of the East, he saw gradual divination of life as the very purpose of evolution - "The animal is laboratory in which Nature has worked out man; man may very well be a laboratory in which she wills ... to disclose the soul as a divine being, to evolve a divine nature" (McDermott, 1973, 45). Defined by their faculty of "thinking" in the evolutionary scale, humans and their organisations could thus be seen as trying to reach out to dimensions higher than what "thinking" alone would dictate.

Spirituality in the workplace is an evolving theme in contemporary management theory and practice. Since the early days of Taylorism at the beginning of the century, management practitioners have grappled with the challenge of how to engage the "whole person". The fragmented views of the "organizational man", responsible for much of the workplace alienation during the industrial age, are being replaced by a more holistic view. Under this new paradigm, the "Work itself is ... being rediscovered as a source of spiritual growth and connection to others" (Mirvis, 1997, 199).

Many interesting corporate models have emerged lately for defining "organization of the future", an organization that would be more congruent with human needs and aspirations of the next millennium. The one that has found wide-scale acceptance in the management arena is the idea of a "learning organization' (Senge, 1990). The purpose of this paper is to explore the gradual evolution of the management paradigm from pure objectivism to spiritual dimensions of Senge's model of a learning organization and find intersections between some age-old traditions and the emergent notions of a "spiritual" workplace.

Management Paradigm – An Evolutionary Process

The workplace view of human beings seems to have shifted gradually over the last hundred years from seeing them as a "pair of hands" to a more holistic paradigm where they are viewed more as "spiritual" beings actuated by a variety of needs. The important stages of the evolution of the management paradigm in this respect could broadly be identified as follows:

- Taylor - Scientific Management (1900-1920s): The workers were seen essentially as "objects to be optimized". Industrial engineers were out with their stopwatches to do time-and-motion studies. Dramatic increases in worker-productivity were accompanied by an unfortunate "dehumanization" of the workplace.
- Human Relations Movement (1930-40s): The Hawthorne studies were a landmark of this era. Human feelings were finally recognized as an important factor in the productivity equation.
- Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs & McGregor's Theory Y (1950-60s): Maslow and McGregor added a new dimension to the management theory and practice by focusing on the human psyche. The workplace was now supposed to provide an environ, where workers could find "self-actualization and self-fulfillment".
- Chris Argyris & Donald Schon (1970-80s): They focused on the inner-self, to promote professional learning and learning in organizations. "Action Learning" and "Reflection in Action" became popular themes in the management arena during this period. These themes carry on to the 1990s and find additional dimensions in the work of Senge and Covey.
- Covey & Senge (1990s): Stephen Covey and Peter Senge talk at length of achieving Personal Mastery through spiritual practices like meditation and contemplation in their seminal works addressed to business professionals at the beginning of this decade (Covey, 1990 and Senge, 1990).

Covey and Senge were apparently responding to a groundswell of change that was taking place in the workplace, as part of a general societal movement, towards a new-age spirituality. A recent issue of the Time (October 13, 1997) recognises this shift profusely in its lead story under the title "America's Fascination with Buddhism". Neal recognises it as "leaderless spiritual emergence" in the workplace (Neal, 1997, 15).

Human Spirituality in the Workplace

In his "Reflections On Human Spirituality For The Worksite", Brian Seaward defines human spirituality as a:

> maturation process of higher consciousness with respect to an insightful and nurturing relationship with oneself and others, the development of a strong value system and the cultivation of a meaningful purpose in life (Seaward, 1995, 6).

The human spirituality thus expresses itself through an enhanced self-awareness and seeing one's connectedness with others at the workplace and beyond.

Spirituality transcends religion and is seen as a fundamental human trait. Maslow recognised it as "Self-transcendence", placing it above "Self-actualisation" in the hierarchy of human needs (Miller, 1996, 49-50). It is at this level, that a person can experience a kind of "spiritual insight", something beyond mere intuition. Representing the highest level of human dimension, it also has the greatest potential for self-expression through the body-mind connection (Miller, 1994).. The growing workplace spirituality represents only a groundswell of the "evolving" needs and aspirations of working people. The human actor in Senge's model is perceived as a spiritual being

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seeking self-fulfilment and finding connectedness and meaning in the workplace, a far cry from just a "pair of hands" under Taylorism.

Ego, Self and the Polarities

A fundamental precept of human spirituality is the realisation that "we are greater than our thoughts". Quoting the *Mundaka Upanishad*, Deepak Chopra explains:

> Like two golden birds perched on the selfsame tree, intimate friends, the ego and the Self dwell in the same body. The former eats the sweet and sour fruits of the tree of life, while the latter looks on in detachment (Chopra, 1996, 83).

In the ancient *Vedantic* tradition of India, life is seen as interplay of ego and the Self. Ego is like a social mask we wear, whereas Self represents the "witness" within. However, in the pursuit of our material goals the Self gets totally deluded by the ego. Senge reminds us of the *Bhagwad Gita's* chastisement in this regard (ch. 3 v. 27): "All actions are wrought by the qualities of nature only. The self, deluded by egoism, thinketh: I am the *doer*" (Senge, 1990, 78). The learning organization model proposes to dispel some of these delusions through the practice of its five disciplines by invoking the spiritual dimensions of various organizational issues which have been neglected for too long.

A recent paradigm in terms of polarities (Johnson, 1992) offers an interesting perspective to explore the complexity of issues faced in implementing the disciplines of a learning organization. Simply put, polarities can be defined as sets of opposites which can't function well independently. "Because the two sides of a polarity are interdependent, you cannot choose one as a solution and neglect the other" (Johnson, 1992, p. xii). In most areas of human endeavour, the problems do not offer simple "either / or" solutions. They very often present themselves as ongoing situations with a set of interdependent opposites to balance. Seen in this light, ego and the Self too are polarities that require an ongoing balance. No wonder, *Buddha* too recommended the "middle path" for the laity thus balancing the polarities of attachment and detachment.

Senge's Five Disciplines: Spiritual Dimensions

Senge's model of a learning organization is based on the practice of five disciplines, i.e., Systems Thinking, Personal Mastery, Mental Models, Shared Vision and Team Learning. A major polarity can be identified under each of these five disciplines. One side of these polarities is typically rooted in the "ego" character, while the other represents the "spiritual" side. Most organisations have leaned too heavily so far on the "ego" side of this balance. In arguing the case for creating a learning organization, Peter Senge points out that "the human species is profoundly out of balance. If our work has an impact, it will bring us back into the natural order of things" (Senge, 1994, 13). Major polarities are explored below under each of the five disciplines of a learning organization:

Systems Thinking - Uniqueness and Connectedness

"The whole is greater than the sum of its parts" (Anonymous). In a typical organization, individuality is overemphasised ignoring very often the "connectedness and the whole". So here is an interdependent pair of opposites to balance. Johnson identifies them as polarities of "uniqueness and connectedness" under the continuum of "individual and community" (Johnson, 1992, p. 266). The idea of uniqueness should not be limiting, as "the most unique (can) become the most universal" (Moustakas, 1974, 91). The unique has to blend with the connectedness to get the best of both sides. As for systems thinking, Senge calls it the fifth discipline; "System thinking is a discipline for seeing wholes. It is a framework for seeing interrelationships rather than things ...." (Senge, 1990, p. 68). Seeing connectedness with the community of workplace and the world at large is the very essence of human spirituality.

Personal Mastery - Action and Reflection

"He who sees inaction in action, and action in inaction, is wise among men; he is a *Yogi* ... " *(Bhagwad Gita, Ch. 4, v. 18)*. The Sanskrit word *Yoga* means "union" representing integration of body and mind - action and reflection. The term *Yogi* is used in the *vediic* tradition for one who has achieved complete mastery over "sense objects". Bhagwad Gita (see References), focused on the Science of Self, is an excellent guide to achieving personal mastery. Miller expands the idea of reflection into contemplation, which is "characterised by a merging of the subject and the object .... (where) duality disappears" (Miller, 1994, vii).

Most organisations are obsessed with action, without much reflection or contemplation to go with it. However, truly learning organisations encourage the contemplative side as well. Kazuo Inamori of Kyocera (a world leader in advanced ceramics) teaches "Kyocera employees to look inward as they continually strive for perfection guided by the corporate motto, Respect Heaven and Love People" (Senge, 1990, 140). Senge further extends the spiritual underpinnings of personal mastery by citing Einstein's experience of "increasing connectedness (being) one of the subtlest aspects of personal mastery" (Senge, 1990, 170).

Mental Models - Advocacy and Inquiry

"Mental models are the images, assumptions, and stories which we carry in our minds of ourselves, other people, institutions and every aspect of the world" (Senge et al, 1994, 235). The competitive environment in most organizations encourages advocacy of our own views without paying adequate attention to what others have to say. The advocacy has to be blended with the inquiry of a true spiritual that respects and feels connected with his/her fellow beings. The mental models act as important filters through which we view the world around us. They can impede the learning process, unless we are prepared to confront our feelings and surface the mental models through a spirit of inquiry.

The polarity of advocacy and enquiry has to be properly balanced in a learning organization. In pure advocacy, the goal is to win the argument. "When inquiry and advocacy are combined, the goal is no longer 'to win the argument' but to find the best argument" (Senge, 1990, 199).

Shared Vision - Doing and Being

The discipline of building a shared vision is an important component of a learning organization. It is essentially a statement of "what we want to be". However, a vision has a meaning and substance only if it can be actionable. Only a shared vision can produce true commitment to action. "A shared vision, especially one that is intrinsic, uplifts people's aspirations (being). Work becomes part of pursuing a larger purpose ... (doing)" (Senge, 1990, 207). This brings out not only the best of being and doing, rooted in spirit and the ego, but also a causal relationship between the two poles.

The work assumes a sacred dimension under a truly shared vision, raising it to the level of *Karma-Yoga* in the *Bhagwad Gita*. Senge gives an interesting example of a Japanese company Matsushita where the employees sing the company song about "sending our goods to the people of the world, endlessly and continuously, like water gushing from a fountain" (Senge, 1990, 224). The company calls its core values of "fairness, harmony, co-operation, courtesy and humility ..." that accompany the above vision, as its spiritual values.

Team Learning - Discussion and Dialogue

Team learning is an important discipline in the building of a learning organization. The individuals learn all the time, and yet it may not lead to organizational learning. Balancing the polarity of Dialogue and Discussion is an important ingredient of team- learning. A discussion is focused on analysis, whereas a dialogue is directed to evolving a synthesis - a kind of integration flowing from spirituality and holism. In a dialogue we achieve a "stream of meaning flowing among

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and through us and between us" (Bohm, 1989, 1-2). Most organizations, dominated by a culture of discussions and analysis, suffer from fragmentation.

The major polarity management in team learning revolves around the skilful balancing of dialogue and discussion. "In team learning, discussion is the necessary counterpart of dialogue. ..... A learning team masters movement back and forth between dialogue and discussion." (Senge, 1990, p. 247).

Conclusion

Peter Senge calls Systems Thinking as the fifth discipline of a learning organization and places it at the centre of the other four disciplines. It provides the hub of "interconnectedness" around which the disciplines of Personal Mastery, Mental Models, Shared Vision and Team Learning seem to revolve. If Systems Thinking is the centre of Senge's model, then spiritually could be viewed as pervading it all like the ubiquitous "sixth discipline" (Mirvis, 1997, 203).

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Where Have All the Seniors Gone?: Reconsidering Voluntarism among Older Adults in Non-Profit Organizations

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Abstract

The small number of senior volunteers in non-profit organizations in Toronto urges greater organizational investment to develop programs which foster the productive contributions and self-growth of older people through volunteering. Suggestions for more effective deployment of older volunteers are proposed.

Le faible nombre de bénévoles aînés dans les organismes à but non lucratif de Toronto préconise l'ntensification des efforts pour mettre sur pied des programmes promouvant les contributions productives et l'épanouissement des aînés grâce au bénévolat. Des suggestions pour un meilleur déploiement des bénévoles plus âgés sont proposées.

Introduction

This paper will present a part of the results of my research on voluntarism among older adults in major non-profit organizations (NPOs) in Toronto. Given the combination of our aging population, the shrinking public funding for welfare and education, and the growing pressure on NPOs to expand their community services, one might expect that volunteering among seniors would be booming. In fact, however, the participation rate of older Canadians in formal volunteering has not increased very much over the last ten years (Minister of Industry, 1998; Ross & Shillington, 1990). Why is the number of older volunteers still so small? Are conditions in the NPOs responsible? Where have the senior volunteers gone? Based on my interviews with volunteer coordinators in eleven NPOs in Toronto, I have developed a preliminary overview of the demographics and current conditions of volunteering among older adults in the current system. The theoretical framework for my study is taken from critical gerontology, in particular, the moral economy of aging perspective, which, in Anotmio's (1983) words, aims to "expose the prevailing system of domination, express its contradictions, assess its potential for emancipatory change, and criticize the system to promote that change" (p. 331). My paper will discuss the current treatment of older volunteers in the NPOs and the characteristics of the programs which successfully sustain older volunteers in the light of this theory. Finally, I will propose seven strategies to restructure volunteer programs to promote active and productive participation of older adults. My paper will be divided into five sections: 1) context, 2) theoretical framework, 3) methodology, 4) findings, and 5) strategies.

Context

Why is it important to shed light on voluntarism among older adults today in Canada and other industrialized nations? According to Statistics Canada (Norland, 1994), the ratio of Canadians over 65 will almost double from 11.4% in 1990 to 22.4% in 2030. This demographic shift, which has been called a "demographic time bomb", has raised worries that we will have too many dependent elderly on the shoulders of younger generations. Yet, such gloomy forecasts about an aging society, by lumping all "seniors" into one group characterized as "dependent", avoid dealing with the problem of "structural lag", especially "the lack of role opportunities in society to utilize and reward strengths of the mounting numbers of long-lived people" (M.W. Riley and J.W. Riley, 1989, p.15). Given the increasing number of younger and healthier early retirees, it is imperative to develop new visions and strategies to promote positive and productive aging.

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Volunteering seems to be a key element in this endeavor, as has been suggested by previous studies (Caro & Bass, 1995; Okun, 1994).

Although, as non-paid labour, volunteer activities still tend to be invisible low status, in fact they are a vital part of Canada's "social economy" (Quarter, 1992). Recently, Statistics Canada reported that 31.4% of Canadians over the age of 15 -- in other words 7.5 million people--volunteered their time and skills in non-profit organizations (NPOs), an increase of 40% in the total number of volunteers since 1987. These volunteers contributed a total of over 1.1 billion hours during the year, the equivalent of 578,000 full-time year-round jobs. In spite of this general trend, however, the participation ratio of older volunteers remains lower than that of younger age groups. In 1997, 23 % of those over 65 volunteered compared with 37% of people aged from 25 to 44 (Minister of Industry, 1998). This suggests that volunteering among seniors is likely to expand if appropriate information and activities are offered (Chappell & Prince, 1997).

The fraying of Canada's social safety net is another major problem confronting our society. Given low economic growth and the change in the age structure of the population, the system of the welfare state have been transformed: now we have leaner governments, more privatization, and an emphasis on individual responsibility for self-sufficiency. Under such circumstances, third sector NPOs have been increasing their roles to fill the gaps in community social services. Yet, the voluntary sector is also in "turbulent times" (Phillips, 1995), facing serious reductions in funding. Given the combination of increasing demand and decreasing financial support, NPOs are confronting an expanding need for volunteers. This in turn invites a careful reconsideration of the potential contributions of under-utilized older people as volunteers as a potential resource.

Theoretical framework: The moral economy and productive aging

Critical gerontology--in particular, the moral economy and productive aging perspective--is a lens through which this problem can be viewed. For it views the "problem" of aging in structural, rather than individual terms. According to Hendricks and Leedham (1991), the moral economy can be divided into two different types, one grounded in *use value* the other in *exchange value*. The former focuses on how to link the productive activities of society with human needs, trying to "create social arrangements that maximize life chances for all members of society over time, given resource constraints" (p. 56). The latter, in contrast, emphasizes individual profit transaction, declaring that "individuals are evaluated in terms of market potential, their capacity for economically 'productive' labour (ibid)". Although neither side is likely to be found in pure form, it is obvious that the latter has overpowered the former in most industrial societies; thus, our prevailing ageism and the humiliating labeling of seniors as "unproductive". The moral economy of aging approach emphasizes the promotion of use value, which, unlike exchange value, takes account of resources for meeting needs outside the economic market, including the contributions of seniors and women not in the labour force.

In the same vein, Moody (1989) characterizes seniors' invisible contributions to the economy (e.g. volunteering and caregiving in family) as an alternative concept of productivity in a postindustrial, service oriented economy. In his view, the current policy debate regarding older adults is monopolized by measurable, monetized transactions such as health-care costs and seniors' pensions. Minkler and Cole (1991) argued -- referring to Marx's idea of the morality of "emancipation", which maintains that free time should be spent on genuine human development -- that attention must be paid to the cultural meaning of old age, and to quality of life issues in work and leisure.

Methodology

This study uses the qualitative approach, combining interviews with document analysis. Much of my first-hand data was collected from face-to-face interviews with the volunteer coordinators of eleven NPOs in Toronto. Each interview was semi-structured and approximately forty-five minutes to one hour long, consisting of open-ended questions regarding the number and the roles of older volunteers, recruitment and administrative strategies, their personal opinions about senior volunteers in their organizations, their perception of older people as volunteers in

general, their future plans to recruit more seniors, and so forth. All the participants works for organizations which are relatively large and well-known in the Toronto area. Yet I also tried to include a variety of organizations in terms of the services they provide. Two organizations whose volunteers are exclusively seniors were included to see whether there are any differences in their volunteer coordination compared to other NPOs who draw from mixed age groups.

Findings

My interviews reveal a certain pattern. Overall, as Statistics Canada's (1989, 1998) numbers suggest, older volunteers within the NPOs in general are still in a minority, even among the organizations which use many volunteers (See Table 1). Yet, the percentage of senior volunteers in Toronto NPOs is high compared with the result of the nation wide survey. One reason, I assume, is that the sheer number of voluntary organizations in Toronto, not to mention the city's convenient public transportation system, make volunteer work more accessible. More than the numbers, however, what struck me was that the ignorance of some organizations about volunteer work force. Some large NPOs who have used many volunteers for a number of years haven't established a system to keep track of the changing number of volunteers and of the time they contribute. Admittedly, it is hectic for coordinators to keep records of the fluctuating numbers of volunteers of volunteers they deal with: yet given their substantial contributions, it seemed to me that their statistical invisibility reveals the low level of recognition of and attention to volunteers in general.

Table 1. Number of Senior Volunteers (Over 65) in the 11 NPOs in Toronto

Organization	Type of organization	No. of total volunteers	No. of senior volunteers	% of senior volunteers
A	Adult education	70	8	11
B	Human rights	24	9	37
C	Health	20	1	5
D	Animal protection	75	2	2.6
E	Multidomain	512	90	17
F	Food bank	270	10	3.7
G	Social service for seniors	200	170	85
H	Child education	230	140	60
I	Zoo	250	85	34
G	*Seniors' talent bank	20	20	100
K	*International development	50	50	100
Total		1,721	585	33

The number of volunteers doesn't include volunteers serving on the board of directors. Some are approximate numbers that coordinators assume as of the summer of 1998. * Seniors organizations.

On the one hand, in contrast to my initial hypothesis of ageism among volunteer coordinators, I did not find that intentional discrimination against older people played a role in the screening of volunteers in any organizations. Rather most coordinators praised senior volunteers for their high level of reliability, stability, and commitment as well as their strong sympathy with organizational aims. Most coordinators appreciated seniors' longer -term commitment and flexible weekday schedule.

On the other hand, however, the awareness about the effective use of older volunteers was generally low. Few NPOs any special interest in recruiting more seniors in the near future, saying that they treat every volunteers equally regardless of age. The places they advertise for volunteers --- schools, the community event section in the Toronto Star, local volunteer centers --- are not the places where seniors could gain access to the information, i.e. community recreational centers,

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retirement residences, seniors' bulletins, churches and synagogues, etc. In addition, except for one organization which pays fees for parking and lunch, most of the NPOs fail to provide financial support for out-of-pocket expenses (although many organizations said that they provide tokens for public transportation if a volunteer personally requests them to do so).

Organizations with relatively large numbers of senior volunteers is generally perceive older adults to be productive community resources. Moreover, they tend to have well-developed volunteer programs, which provide volunteers with assignments which are completely separated from the administrative jobs of paid staff gives them more responsibility to carry out the programs. To make this possible, these organizations provide more intensive pre-training for volunteers. As well, volunteer assignments in these NPOs require people skills (e.g. education, public relations, consultations, story telling, etc.) rather than technological ability. Interestingly, according to coordinators, volunteers in these organizations contribute almost twice the hours for volunteering (about average eight hours a week) compared with other organizations who asked volunteers to do things like stuffing envelopes or other errands to help the paid office staff. It seems that light and unorganized duties discourage many older volunteers who were accustomed to carrying substantial responsibilities in their pre-retirement roles.

Coordinators perceived senior volunteers as motivated by the amount of free time on hands and altruism. They were less sensitive, however, to the desire for personal growth. Successful programs show their volunteers greater respect and appreciation, providing them with constant educational and learning opportunities to cultivate their potential, as well opportunities to socialize with other volunteers and staff. These elements seem to be key in sustaining the intensity of older volunteers.

Strategies for the future

My findings show that the ratio of senior volunteers in the eleven NPOs in Toronto is higher than the national level. As well, most coordinators comment that older volunteers are reliable and committed contributors for NPOs. Given the growing need for community services and the trend toward early retirement, greater organizational efforts are required to develop more and better volunteer programs which consciously utilize seniors, helping foster their self-actualization through an involvement in social reform. Based on my findings, I propose the following seven strategies for future planning.

1) Value older volunteers by recognizing their contributions and their needs.
2) Give more responsibilities to volunteers with proper training.
3) Enhance communications between staff and volunteers as well as among volunteers through peer networking.
4) Provide as many educational and leaning opportunities for volunteers as possible.
5) Provide basic expenses (e.g. tokens, lunch tickets, etc.) when possible.
6) Expand recruitment strategies.
7) To develop new programs, establish new partnerships with other existing programs (e.g. lifelong education courses at colleges and universities, pre-retirement education courses within companies, governmental community health programs, etc.).

If we can facilitate volunteering among seniors in our communities, we can broaden the possible outcomes of aging society, helping re-establish what Cole (1992) called "the cultural meaning of old age and quality of life" at the personal and societal levels. Productively deploying older volunteers in NPOs is one of the keys to this process. It encompasses the promotion of use value to create a more caring society, challenging policy makers as well as organizations to elevate the minimum concept of equity whereby available resources and productive capacity are directed toward the meeting of human needs. If we can move in this direction, not only seniors but all of us will benefit.

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REDUCING COMMUNICATIVE DISTORTION IN THE CYBER-LEARNING PARADIGM

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This paper offers observations, insights and reflections on communicative distortions in cyber-learning. Problems and solutions are considered using Habermas' validity criteria as a framework for analysis.

Cyber-learning is the leading edge of modern distance education. For a range of health, geographic, social and economic reasons, adults are turning to technology-based distance learning to meet lifelong learning needs. Learning in cyber-space involves entering a new technological and psychosocial paradigm which can induce anxiety and limit communicative action. Lack of standards and clear definitions of how the cyber-classroom should mirror or diverge from the traditional classroom make cyber-learning a potentially-distorted learning mode. Cyber-learners lose a dimension of learning such as sight or audition, and must often cope with information overload caused, for example, by trying to sort out increasingly complex and ill-managed web-site discussion trees and threads. Adult educators must address the technological, psychological and cultural issues which increase learners' anxiety levels and create barriers to learning. Reflections on cyber-learning at MSVU using Habermas' validity criteria -- sincerity, comprehensibility, truthfulness and consistency with established social norms (Welton, 1993, 84-85) – reveal and suggest recommendations for reducing communicative distortions in the cyber-learning paradigm.

Technology

Computer technology ranks poorly against Habermas' validity criteria for three main reasons: cost, reliability and rate of change. For Habermas, truthfulness involves adherence to a democratic ideal which is not met when economics prevent universal access to computers. Comprehensibility is affected as those with access to computers quickly learn how often hardware, software, and entire networks break down. Most important, as Michael Welton describes, there is an insincere or "dark side of modern technological societies" (1993, 85) rooted in the swift obsolescence of technology, the rapidity with which skills need to change, the ability of individuals and technology to cope with massive amounts of new information, and the looming possibility of a Y2000 crisis.

Dependence on technology makes cyber-learning inherently subject to communicative distortion. Common techno-glitches compromise the comprehensibility of cyber-communication: systems fall prey to viruses; power sources fail; telephone bridge lines do not connect or transmit poorly; passwords suddenly don't work; female voices are overridden when voice-activated technology is more sensitive to deeper male voice-registers; transmissions are incomplete; or servers go down the day an assignment is due. The newness of cyber-learning technology means there are rarely established strategies or norms to compensate for techno-glitches. Without alternatives in case of techno-failure, cyber-learners are silenced and disempowered by the very technology which is designed to expand global learning opportunities and dialogue.

Adopting computer technology in Open Learning at MSVU was both a valid response to changing needs of adult learners, and a source of new issues around communicative distortion. The rapid transition to use of Web-sites, computer graphic accompaniment to teleconference

lectures, chat-room seminars, and forum discussions left some participants reeling in the dust. Some learners struggled with incompatible (or absent) home computer systems which excluded them from forum and chatroom discussions. Some learners, instructors and administrators had difficulty grasping World Wide Web technology, protocols, N-etiquette, how to install or download software and plug-ins, or even how to offer on-line support to foundering cyber-learners. Although many alternative modes were offered, including the options to fax or mail assignments, on one occasion assignments were incompletely transmitted, grades were assigned to incomplete work, and trust in the teacher-student relationship was compromised. Although no one at MSVU intended to deceive learners, some transitional problems compromised the quality, comprehensibility, accessibility and sincerity of the early cyber-learning experiments.

In cyber-classes evaluation may require on- and off-site learners to participate regularly in computer-based discussions or group assignments. Since chat rooms, forums and web-discussions lack the real-time limits of classroom discussions, clear expectations and time management skills are essential. To ensure sincerity, truthfulness and conformity to a democratic ideal, learners must be informed, before registration in such courses, of the technology, time commitment and level of computer literacy required to meet course requirements. While learners must take responsibility to ensure they are adequately prepared with the skills and tools required to take any course, the academy can assist by offering computer literacy tests, pre-university computer courses and subsidies for rent or purchase of appropriate technology to level the cyber-learning playing field.

Computers are not the only technology that causes communicative distortion in cyber-classrooms. At MSVU, cyber-learners attend classes by telephone and can view illustrations on home computer screens. Technology literally limits learning when a teleconference bridge is cut off after exactly one and a half hours. Cyber-learners must not call in early or they will be abruptly disconnected one and a half hours later, whether the on-site class has finished or not. This is problematic because, for cyber-learners, the most intense course-related discussions take place both before the cyber-group connects with the on-site class, and during small group break-out discussions. In cyber-space, cyber-learners can affirm mutual experiences with technology's limitations, cyber-blindness, and a common need to emote and check out messages verbally. Although it would seem that extending class bridge time before and after class would allow cyber-learners to meet and debrief in a manner similar to on-site learning groups, financial resources limit this possibility.

With adequate resources, access, and training, learners and educators can overcome many of the communicative distortions related to basic technology in cyber-classrooms. It is more challenging to address distortions caused by the psychological effects of cyber-learning.

Psychology

While technological difficulties can literally impede and distort communication, cyber-learners' attitudes and psychological responses to technology can be still more problematic. Human beings tend to resist change and fear what they do not know or understand. Techno-phobia, or a fear of cyber-learning technology, may be a natural and self-preserving response to a modernity Welton calls a "time of great risk and anxiety" (1983, 84, 86). David Burns, a cognitive psychologist, describes anxiety as hanging over a cliff by your fingertips (1992, 38), and that is often how it feels to negotiate a new learning Web-site.

As discussed, things always go wrong with computer technology, meaning learners' fears are not "all in their heads." Anxieties about lost information or participation grades naturally develop when static or power outages compromise comprehensibility, exclude learners from participation in the class, and reduce the sincerity or overall quality of the learning experience. Solutions and support are needed to help cyber-learners address anxieties and to remediate validity problems concerning the sincerity, comprehensibility and truthfulness of technology-dependent cyber-communication.

Although an emergency telephone number is a practical solution to technological problems at MSVU, this fails to alleviate psychological stress. After leaving a message, the learner has no idea what is going to happen next. Sometimes, the connection is restored without human communication. Other times, the stressful silence and lack of communication induce learners to give up rather than continue efforts to connect with the class.

This kind of stress might be alleviated by implementing a buddy system in cyber-courses. Two cyber-learners could telephone one another in case of techno-glitch to continue the dialogue on their own. An on-site buddy can keep track of whether the off-site buddy is connected, take notes, and contact the off-site buddy after class to pass on missed information. Buddies can also monitor the regularity of each other's contributions to web-based discussions, in case prolonged silence has been caused by techno-glitches.

If an entire class meets in cyber-space, it is wise to agree, before a breakdown, on a "make up" contact time. During the first cyber-class, for example, it can be arranged that any disrupted Monday class will be rescheduled to the next Saturday. After any communication breakdown, the cyber-educator must quickly use telecommunication, e-mail, voice-mail, or web-site news bulletin to advise learners of make-up plans and the causes of a techno-glitch.

Anxiety about the public and unregulated nature of the internet and World Wide Web can also silence some cyber-learners. These media may, at the extreme, represent a potentially coercive mass experiment which tests the limits of free speech. As a media for adult education, cyber-space seems to defy Welton's observation that "fundamentally, Habermasian- influenced adult educators attempt to create rule structured communication conditions that enable free and non-coercive learning to occur" (1993, 86). When cyber-learners depend on web-sites to learn, they risk engaging in a distorted or coercive learning experience. Is it non-coercive, for example, to know that your ideas are being exposed to anyone with internet or World Wide Web access? Although course web-sites have passwords and entrance codes, there have been instances when learners from other schools and programs have joined MSVU chat room discussions. Where learners are already self-conscious or anxious about exploring new ideas in print, adding a potentially unlimited audience heightens anxiety and increases the possibility of silencing.

Another psychological effect of learning in cyber-space is altered behaviour. My explanation for changes like increased shyness or boldness is an experience I call "cyber-blindness." Communicating by teleconference is, at first, unnatural and disorienting. One is conscious of not being able to perceive facial expression or body language. Reflection reveals a high level of dependence on these features in communicative relationships. The faceless voices in the cyber-classroom may silence learners who depend on visual cues in communication and trust-building, while disinhibiting other learners to make bold or even inappropriate remarks they might not make in contexts where other people's physical responses and potential confrontations are more immediate.

Culture

Cases like the disinhibited learner demonstrate how cyber-space carries the cyber-learner into a new and developing cultural paradigm. Culture may be thought of as the symbolic and learned aspects of society -- values, practices and beliefs -- which guide and influence human life and interaction. In cyber-space, timing factors, cultural diversity, incomplete or altered transmissions, spelling or typographical errors, and unclear writing styles can all change meanings and otherwise distort communication. Many of these events and issues could be made less problematic by establishing a set of norms for cyber-space and cyber-communication.

Communication in human society is a cultural phenomenon which depends on symbols, written or spoken, to convey information. Cyber-communication uses the symbols of written languages like English, but other symbol systems are developing. One system is cyber-shorthand which, like its real world counterpart, speeds communication by using contractions like WRT for "with regard to." More important in terms of enhancing the sincerity and comprehensibility of cyber-communication, however, are signs like emoticons, more commonly referenced as "smileys" which add an emotional dimension to otherwise flat and faceless typographical communication.

Inspired by the popular happy face of the 1960s and believed to have been developed into web-hieroglyphs by David W. Sanderson (1993), the :-) which indicates goodwill or happiness, the winking ;-) to convey jocularity, and the sad :-(add much to a potentially value-laden phrase like "I'll never see Habermas the same way again." Is this good :-), ironic ;-), or sad :-(? If un-academic or tacky, emoticon symbols reduce the human tendency to fill in the blanks or project our own emotions or intents onto other people's written expressions.

More conventional ways of enhancing communication, such as common etiquette and assertive communication, also offer practical solutions when compromised sincerity or comprehensibility affects the integrity of cyber-communication. It cannot be emphasized enough, for example, that it is every learner's responsibility to be emotionally expressive, check out how others are feeling, clarify our own messages, and speak up if communication seems distorted.

In terms of adherence to a democratic ideal, the level of communicative distortion in a cyber-discussion can also be measured by whether voice is given to all interests in a cyber-class discussion. Gender inequities arise when voice-activated technology is more responsive to male than female vocal tones. Although there is potential in any classroom for one speaker to dominate, when a learner is only a voice in an off-site group, the usual physical cues like raised hands, coughs or rolling eyes, cannot communicate learners' feelings or intentions.

Another issue in terms of democratic relations in cyber-space is what I call "erasure." Silencing and erasure happen when classmates fail or neglect to acknowledge another learner's message on email, a forum, or even in a chat room. This is an issue related to both social norms and a new learning culture. In face-to-face classes, synchronous or real-time communication influences human behaviour and adherence to standard social norms differently from asynchronous or virtual-time communication in cyber-space. Truthfulness is affected, for example, because time lags make it easier to borrow ideas from theorists without due credit.

Three interrelated tools can equalize power relations in the cyber-classroom: a facilitator; group norms; and Web-safety education. A facilitator is appointed by peers to ensure that all students have opportunity to participate in classroom dialogue. The facilitator may work with the class to establish norms for behaviour and undistorted communication. The facilitator may also monitor Web-site and chat room discussions, informing Web-masters or service providers if

something is wrong or inappropriate. All Web-class participants must be cautious about offering personal information on-line, and follow typical conventions about interacting with strangers.

Educators and cyber-learners share responsibility for reducing communicative distortion caused by learning technology. Comprehensibility, for example, depends on behavioural norms (Welton 1984, 84). It is common etiquette in the real world, for example, to acknowledge receipt of messages, return telephone calls, and reply to mail. The same norms should apply as N-etiquette in confirming receipt of assignments, responding to email, and acknowledging contributions to a Web-forum discussion.

Group norms which create a democratic and communicative learning environment at MSVU have developed naturally over time. Effective instructor-facilitators, for example, invite all learners to participate in every discussion, without any academic penalty if someone declines to speak. Other effective norms include: introducing class members; reducing anonymity by posting learner profiles on the course web-site; taking attendance; establishing the class atmosphere by leading check-ins; encouraging learners to leave pauses between ideas to allow off-site learners to "break in"; and, most important, using Brookfield's circular response technique.

Brookfield's circular response guidelines for communicative discussions ensure that every participant gets a voice option, and that every voice is acknowledged and respected. The technique invites each member of a classroom discussion to paraphrase a previous speaker's remarks, before linking and adding a new contribution. Previous speakers may clarify misunderstood remarks, and a new speaker has the option of agreeing or disagreeing with a previous point before introducing a new idea. Although this technique may at first seem artificial and awkward, it effectively reduces all kinds of communicative distortions in cyber-space.

Conclusion

In this paper I have extended cyber-learning experiences at MSVU, analyzed communicative distortions in cyber-learning, and offered practical recommendations to promote communicative cyber-learning. The next step will be a wider study of learner experiences in other cyber-programmes. The way common (N)etiquette, Brookfield's circular response technique, and group norms enhance communicative learning at MSVU will generalize to other cyber-learning contexts.

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MAPPING THE FAULT LINE: THE RISE OF PROFESSIONALIZATION AND THE FALL OF SOCIAL POLICY IN NORTH AMERICAN ADULT EDUCATION

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Most of the founders of our field envisaged adult education as a mission to help build democracy. The rise of adult education professionalizatior since the 1920's has largely removed us from social policy influence. If we are to participate in creating a civil society, adult education will need to reconsider its mission and engage much more with democratic social policy.*

ADULT EDUCATION AT THE END OF THE CENTURY

When history looks back on adult education in the 20th century, what will it see? Selman et al (1998) have said that something has been lost in the course of the century:

> There is considerable concern in the field of adult education today that a tradition is being lost. Adult educators are generally aware that a field which at one time had its own vision of the kind of society it was helping to define and to bring about is increasingly losing its philosophical roots. Adult education is becoming a service industry instead of having its own philosophical foundation (Selman et al, 1998, p. 9).

The field has been criticized for adopting a market mentality (Pittman, 1989); it has been said that adult education has defined itself narrowly on the basis of an "andragogical consensus" (Welton, 1995, p. 11); and it has been argued that the field is dissipating into multiple areas of adult education specialization (Quigley, in press). Meanwhile, the sense that something is being lost can be seen as an undercurrent in the literature today even in the midst of countless funding cuts and compromises for "survival." It seems that the literature is struggling to pull the field back towards a more moral purpose. To its early philosophical roots. The program planning literature (Cervero & Wilson, 1994), the debate on the nature of research (Merriam, 1991); the role advocated for today's adult educator (Collins, 1991), are now being discussed within the framework of "responsible planning," "the ethics of decision-making," and "morality in practice." Welton has stated that "In an increasingly disenchanted world bleached of spirituality and dominated by a manic market mentality, we are hungry for philosophical orientation and depth" (p. 11). It is my argument that these statements point to a yearning for the early vision of adult education.

This paper is concerned with three issues. First, it is concerned with the erosion of the field's early vision. Second, beneath the notion of vision as an end unto itself lies the erosion of the belief that adult education should be engaged in the *defining* of democracy. The third section of this paper argues that we need to recover the fading vision and gives some thoughts on how adult education can work towards the more just, equitable, civil society. It is argued that we should seek a more societally active role in this new century by reclaiming our voice through the active engagement of the democratic systems our founders helped create.

ADULT EDUCATION AS SOCIAL POLICY THROUGH TIME

In the early colonial period through to the end of the 19th century, as Stubblefield and Keane (1994) report, "adult education [was] used as an instrument to attain communal perfectability" (p. 79). Communal, in this sense, involves *both* the individual and the society for the common good. The belief that education is key to human dignity *and* populist democracy has a long history in the United States and Canada. However, Eduard Lindeman, often called the

*(This paper is based on an upcoming chapter in *Handbook 2000--Adult and Continuing Education*)

father of modern adult education, may be thought of as one of the last to assume a holistic understanding of adult education as a field that naturally would embrace both the individual and the society in its mission. He stressed that an educational focus on the individual was a necessity but added: "Collectivisim is a representation of individual interests" (1961, p. 101). Like those before him, there was no sense of duality between societal change or individual learner needs. Lindeman succinctly argued that adult education's "complete objective is to synchronize the democratic and the learning processes" (1937, p. 76).

However, during the same period, the field was moving into a state of "professional orientation," (Cotton, 1964, p. 85). For Cotton and so many others to follow, most of the adult educators prior to the 1930s were lumped together as "naïve idealists" (p. 85). Even as Lindeman was writing during the 1920's, adult educators in the nascent professional movement were meeting (Rose, 1989) and privileging the perspectives of a new "caliber of men [sic]" (Cotton, p. 84). These included E. L. Thorndike, Everett Dean Martin and Morse Adams Cartwright. The American Association for Adult Education was formed in 1926, the very year Lindeman's classic *The Meaning of Adult Education* was published. Yet, Cotton's proud interpretation of events in the 1960's was that the new agenda of the period included, "Continuous inquiry, both scientific and philosophical" (p. 85). And, a true discipline comprised of a "hard core of professionally oriented adult educators" (p. 85) was said to emerge. The move to distance the field from earlier "social reformers" not only changed the field in the sense of its valid purpose but consciously shifted the field's focus to individuality over societal concerns (Fisher & Podeschi, 1989). Wilson has shown (1992) how the Handbooks through the 1930s together with the 1948 Handbook reflect how a tradition of scientism grew. He also shows how the handbooks through to the 1980's sought to "provide an identifiable body of knowledge that will standardize the training of adult educators" (p. 265). This not-so-subtle shift in identity came to mean that the "emancipatory social movement heritage" failed to "make any noticeable appearance in the handbook content" (Wilson, p. 265) while the scientism ideology being championed eclipsed issues of power, inequity, resource imbalance--the essence of social policy discourse and action.

While it is important to note that our mainstream introductory texts since the mid-1980's in both the U.S.and Canada have made a point of including some of the significant social movements in North American (e.g., Stubblefield & Keane, 1994; Thomas, 1991), and Canada's field of adult education has a richer tradition of social policy than that in the US (Roberts, 1982; Thomas, 1983, 1991); nevertheless, the 1970's and 1980s rendering of the field of adult education reinforced the inherited wisdom that professionalism did not mean a focus on societal or community issues. As Cunningham (1998) concluded: "The individual in the North American understanding of that concept is almost disembodied from the society which frames her consciousness or provides cultural meaning to existence. This utilization of the 'individual' as the unit of social analysis is so ingrained in adult education practice that the psychologization of adult education practice is not easily recognized by most practitioners. (p. 15).

SOCIAL POLICY DEFINED

In the North American context, public policy is typically understood and defined as broadly authorized collective intervention (Djao, 1983), from the economy to public transport. By contrast, social policy is typically defined as a component of public policy. A component dedicated to improving some specific aspect of societal conditions. Since one of the conditions of the vast number of societies and cultures throughout history has been the unequal distribution of resources, social policy has been used to directly or indirectly redistribute society's resources (Djao, 1983). Social policy is driven by a concern for those issues arising out of two conditions: a scarcity of resources and social inequities. Applied to education specifically, social policy has been defined as "the attempt to use education to solve social problems, influence social structures, to improve one or more aspects of the social condition, to anticipate crisis" (Silver, 1980, p. 17). In sum, social policy

can result in degrees of action to create and redistribute both valued resources and "life chances" (Griffin, 1987).

THREE SOCIAL POLICY MODELS

The following framework presents a synthesis of three social policy models found in the public (Mitchell, 1984) and the adult education literature. It is inclusive of North American adult education philosophical perspectives (Beder, 1989; Merriam & Brockett, 1997). The characteristics of each model are discussed to give a sense of how each functions. They are also intended to indicate how a policy-maker might see society, adult education, and the issues we work with..

A. Market Models and Social Policy. Advocates of market models typically see society as a market
place where incentives and negotiation flourish. Society is seen as based on rationalism and only utilitarian principles are worthy of discussion. Market models have a strong tradition in North America. Some will argue that it has dominated Canadian and American politics for at least two decades. Advocates for the market view often insist on individual freedom for citizens and argue that government should not inhibit citizens' natural drive to self-reliance. Those who believe in the market model will seek to "downsize" the bureaucracies that "cannot know best." Market model advocates are suspicious of big institutions on one hand, and skeptical of personal intuitiveness on the other. Instead, they privilege pragmatic rationality. This may be seen as aligning this model with the pragmatic beliefs of the vocational and progressive philosophies of adult education (Merriam & Brockett, 1997). For the market model, educational issues are typically seen at the macro-level and in the context of the economic good. Accountability, often measured with positivist yardsticks, is a logical outcome of this model. Understandably, vocational and various forms of progressive adult education are favored with government funding in this model, while individualism, volunteerism and minimal government intervention are championed. This structural functional interpretation of society prevails in the political ideologies which drive education at all levels towards the logic of human capital formation (Jarvis, 1985).

B. Liberal-Welfare Models and Social Policy. Goodwin (1982) has named consent, freedom of choice, a meritocratic belief in social justice, and high tolerance of non-conformity as significant aspects of the liberal-welfare state model. Institutional, rather than volunteer or private sector systems, are now the instruments of social policy. And, with the involvement of institutions comes an attendant interest in issues of governance, delivery, and institutional planning. Problems of institutional access, systemic barriers and concerns with quality of life issues are the types of issues that arise. The consensus of stakeholders will typically be considered here. However, Griffin (1987), in reviewing the social policy literature, notes how the market and liberal-welfare models tend to be non-critical of the wider social structure. Each model has its limitations and these, in turn, are reflected in the adult education philosophy aligned with it (Merriam & Brockett, 1997). The lack of criticality inherent in these first two models is taken very seriously in the third model of social distribution, seen next.

C. Social Redistribution Models and Social Policy. Social redistribution has been given various names in various countries in the social policy literature (e.g., Titmus, 1974). Also called the "counter-critique" (Beder, p. 45, 1989) at the philosophical level, or the "social control model" (Jarvis, 1993, p. 40) in the adult education literature, the social redistribution model is typically informed by conflict theory (Griffin, 1987). The ideology here typically sees adult vocationalism-progressivism, liberalism, and many of the welfare policies of Western democracies only perpetuating and reproducing the dominant culture, economic order, and social inequities inherent in democratic capitalism. Sociologists have summarized the ideologies of the first two models in education as instruments of reproduction that only perpetuate spurious personal underdevelopment, particularly for those not of the dominant culture. The central issue is not how to affect individual

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change or make community-based "adjustments." As Beder (1989) says, those acting from this model "consider capitalist democracy to be inherently flawed by structural inequalities that can be redressed only be substantial reordering of the social system" (p. 45). The issue here is how policies can affect inequities in society.

Adult education approaches advocated in this model will argue for collaborative and community-based social action and alliances across organizations for policy change. Examples in North America might include affirmative action policies or policies for those with disabilities; and the educational programs around them. However, this area of adult education programming is certainly the least funded in the North American experience (Quigley, 1989). Community-based Freirean-inspired projects and forms of participatory research for action (Lautecouer, 1994) out of the social redistribution ideology have tended to arise from grassroots social movements. Understandably, but nevertheless unfortunately, adult educators from this ideology tend to distance themselves from policy-makers. Perhaps as a result, reformist practice and research ideologies that seek counter-hegemonic action too often stay alive only and make an impact at the community level. Macro social policy change as a result of these adult educators' efforts is far too rare. Our practice and research on issues of inequity in society need to be heard if social policy change is to take place

A VISION FOR THE FUTURE

Welton (1997) has argued that "a strong civil society is prerequisite for the creation of any kind of vital or even efficient democratic society" (p. 74). However, if the future is be any different from the latter part of the 20th century, adult educators will need to reconsider and, I believe, reclaim, the "idealistic," the "utopian," and the "informal histories" that founded this field. In North America, it will be imperative, I believe, for adult educators in both academic and practice settings to focus their passion and their intellectual energies in ways that may help build a civil society. One clear focus in every industrialized nation's field of adult education has been social policy. Why is it so difficult to imagine leadership for political and social policy change coming out of an adult education department in a university setting? It did in the 1930s with Antigonish Movement in Canada. It did with the Wisconsin Idea at the turn of the century in America. Why can't our research on women, minorities, indigenous peoples, and sexual orientation; our findings on literacy, continuing professional education, workers' education; our inquiry into issues across economic, social, and political phenomenon get past our own conferences and journals to actually make a difference at the social policy level? Why can't inquiries on approaches to learning, teaching, program planning, administration, and evaluation become the formative and critical basis for educational social policies at a state or national level for adult learning? Why can't this field conduct comparative analyses across social policy models to critique, inform, and challenge the very ideological models that drive social policy and so much of our own field? We can't we learn and borrow from the international experiences on social policy and current thinking on civil society more often in our curricula and our literature? Why can't we reclaim the vision that founded this field, that has inspired this field, and which still holds bright promise as we enter the new millennium?

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A FRAMEWORK FOR A CULTURAL MATERIALIST APPROACH TO ADULT LEARNING

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Abstract: The study of informal learning offers an opportunity for invigorated attempts to produce theoretical accounts of learning beyond the classroom, beyond pedagogy, and throughout its full range of variation. Reflecting on previous research and building on the traditions of Cultural-Historical/Soviet psychology - a Cultural Materialist approach is suggested.

Resumé: L'étude d'apprentissage informel présente une occasion pour recherche nouveax theorique de l'education en plus la salle de classe et la pedagogie. Fondé sur la recherche et la tradition du psychologie de la' Cultural-Historical/Soviet - une approche Cultural Materialist est suggérer.

As Adult Education researchers continue to productively explore the depths of philosophical and social theory, from Dewey to Habermas to Foucault, to develop new approaches to learning, in this paper I shall introduce yet another possibility. The purpose of this short paper is to introduce a basic justification for and outline of a Cultural Materialist approach to adult learning. In this paper, I suggest that, perhaps most importantly, this perspective provides a basis for the development of an empirical method of inquiry into learning beyond the classroom, beyond pedagogy, and through its full range of variation. First, I direct our attention toward some basic features of existing approaches to adult learning. Second, I discuss some existing (partial) correctives to these features and how they seek to understand "learning" as locally accomplished dimension of ongoing social practice. And finally, I outline the basic structure of a Cultural Materialist framework and suggest some key conceptual tools for its application. I suggest that learning, as a dimension of ongoing social practice, is subject to what Raymond Williams (1980) referred to as a system of "limits and pressures". Within these alternative suggestions lies the indication that distinctions such as experience-based (e.g. Garrick, 1996), formal/nonformal/informal (e.g. Wain, 1987), self-directed (e.g. Tough, 1979), incidental (e.g. Marsick and Watkins, 1990) learning require significant development if they are to attempt to capture the complexity of ongoing learning practice vis-á-vis a rigorous method of inquiry. I conclude that attempts to study learning must be rooted in the examination of actual practice which situate learners within the cultural material limits and pressures realized in everyday life; and, such a program of inquiry requires the conceptual means for making available (for our analysis) the complexity of learning as embedded in practice and experience.

Existing Literature

This is obviously not the vehicle for a full discussion of the corpus of adult learning theory, but before discussing alternative approaches it is necessary that I briefly point to some basic sources of justification found in the existing literature. By far the most relevant contemporary theory in this field is now dealing with learning as a expansive phenomenon in the context of the connection between reflection and experience. The (re)emergence of self-directed learning as the more complex notions of informal and experience-based learning as a relevant topic is not only worthy of investigation in its own right (i.e. why now, what for,

who for, how for, etc.), but it has stimulated a tide of new and exciting theoretical discussions. Of course, a parallel concern of my own also involved discovering that there was, theoretically, little on which I could draw to meaningfully understand the data I was in the process of analyzing in my empirical work with blue-collar workers' computer learning. My review concluded that, with some variation, virtually all approaches to adult learning suffered from a series of systematic (interlocking) tendencies that limited their usefulness for understand the learning that I was exploring with these workers. I demonstrated how such elements as - a) individual autonomy; b) universality of process; c) an insistence on learning as a cognitive-physical, internalized event; d) learning as defined by pedagogical/andragogical process; and e) even a social class cultural-deficit theorizing - all were traceable themes in this work. Of course at its core, several of these observations are not particularly new. Writers including Usher (1992), Welton (1995), Garrick (1996) and host of others have offered similar evaluations. I went on, however, to conclude that these particular features were not random, but rather acted to ratify deeper historical continuities (in particular those related to commodification and capital accumulation specifically). Another common feature of this body of literature that I identified was a serious lack of systematic empirical development. While other writers have also made this observation, I think it's fair to say it has not been taken as seriously as perhaps it should. Taylor (1997), in fact, provides a grounded discussion of this very trend in references to Mezirow's Transformative Learning theory. As with the system of tendencies outlined above, I suggest that this lack of empirical development is neither idiosyncratic nor trivial. Rather, it represents an important continuity, and signals a weakness in our ability to grasp, as a phenomenon, what "learning" might be as it exists beyond those classroom and lecture-hall walls.

As I indicated, in my own research with workers, the type of activities that I saw ethnographically, were described to me in interviews, and which I analyzed for in fine-grained sequential interaction were a key basis from which I problematize the preoccupations of available adult learning theory. The "learning" processes that I came into contact with went on in the factories, over the kitchen table and across the backyard fence, and even 'encapsulated' the more formalized learning within it (see Sawchuk, 1997). Workers pooled "learning" resources, from computer soft- and hardware to newspaper clippings and books, and they integrated all of these processes and artifacts together in an expansive network largely based on an oral culture of which intra-class membership, incidently, played an important role. This oral culture 'floated' on a sea of "experience" (to re-work a phrase of Alan Thomas). People realized 'experience-for-learning' through the process of its integrated with the ongoing social lives of specific networks of people, and specifically into the oral culture of these networks. What Julian Orr (1996) called "war stories" is an example of the knowledge storage and transmission process in these networks. "War stories" served the function of maintaining identity and solidarity which included the production of a type of instructive text that was ongoing and multi-authored. These were actively created "learning" practices that took place in a specific place and time, had to deal with specific barriers and openings, and "took place", for the most part, inseparably from the ongoing flow of everyday life.

Neo-Vygotskians

In response to my critique of existing adult learning literature and the embedded-ness of "learning" in everyday life that I encounter in my empirical research - I sought an approach which could both deal with the empirical complexity of local interaction, and which

recognized that these practices were not free-floating but were structured by (and structure) the power differentials in social life. A key, though only partial, corrective was to be found in the work of the Cultural-Historical/Soviet psychological traditions of Vygotsky. In brief, the Vygotskian tradition sought to established that human "learning" is defined first and foremost in the process of social practice, and only later comes to be internalized as stable cognitive/physical features. Thus while people typically recognize the cognitive/physical features (as skill and knowledge), the process or "activity" that produces this state is definitively socio-cultural. A core Vygotskian (inspired) concept was "activity". This concept was meant to capture the historical and social context, the tools or artifacts involved, and the patterns of collective interaction all within a same unit of analysis called "activity". Contemporary researchers influenced by this tradition have sought to develop a theory of "learning" based on these principles and have elaborated this theory, more or less critically, to include what Lave and Wenger (1991) have termed the "situated" character of learning.

Situated Learning theory lies in opposition to many of core tendencies of the approaches to adult learning which I reviewed. Learning was defined as "participation" in communities of practice or "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave and Wenger, 1991). The closely related "Activity Theory" (e.g. Engeström, 1987) defines learning in similar terms as a social relational "activity system" (Engeström, 1987) in which individuals take part. Indeed, in Engeström's case, Activity Theory was a corrective to what he termed the "Cartesian biases" of contemporary approaches to learning and expertise which closely paralleled the conclusions of my own review. These two approaches are social-relational theories of learning and allow us grounded empirical study. However, in these systems the individual becomes something of a 'blank node' in systems of social interaction. A Cultural Materialist theory of adult learning, in contrast to this partial solution, must seek to understand these "nodes" as the people that we are: able to exercise agency within a certain system both cultural and material limits and pressures; historically located; and, coming to the table with our own bag of experiences, tastes, preferences, etc. Indeed, this is the type of structure and agencies that workers describe so vividly in my own research.

While the neo-Vygotskian approach carries us a considerable distance, largely on the strength of its method of inquiry (note this not identical to methods) - it nevertheless adds little to our ability to understand how issues of class, race or gender standpoints might affect and in fact be realized in participation. We are presented throughout with gender-less, race-less, and class-less, value-neutral activity, insulated from any cultural/material constraints, struggles, domination, or resistance, and largely isolated from broader systems of coordination.

Cultural Materialism

Beyond isolated discussions in the fields of cultural anthropology and literary criticism, by far the most developed conception of "Cultural Materialism" is that developed by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (Birmingham, England) which was so heavily influenced in the 1970's by the work of Antonio Gramsci. Writers such as E.P.Thompson, Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy all emerged as important scholars in this tradition, but perhaps the most influential to Marxist Sociologists concerned with class issues was Raymond Williams. Williams defined Cultural Materialism as:

> ...a theory of culture as a (social and material) productive process and of specific practices, as social uses of material means of production (from language as material 'practical

consciousness' to the specific technologies of writing and forms of writing, through to mechanical and electronic communications systems). (Williams, 1980:243)

More specifically, the perspective sought to develop upon a definition of culture as:

> ...the shared principles of life characteristic of particular classes, groups or social milieux. We stressed the connection between cultural forms and everyday life: culture as the process by which social groups 'make sense' of their social conditions of existence.... If cultural forms are produced in ordinary social intercourse they will not be properly understood if abstracted from this context. This renders a large range of sociological procedures extremely problematic.... we have to treat cultural forms as elements of social life which are actively produced.... All theories of culture or ideology that employ models of transmission and passive reception fail to grasp what is specific to the production of meaning. (CCCS, 1981:140)

These writers, but in particular Williams, sought to struggle with the way that social classes were both reproduced, diverged and were at the same time structured by deep historical continuities centred in the accumulation of capital. Researching with blue-collar workers shows an affinity with the vision that animated Williams's approach. Workers generated and resonated to the same visions of community, solidarity, and greater participation in social institutions much like Williams would have expected.

While the neo-Vygotskian approaches outlined above appear unable to theorize cultural historical conditions as part of the "situation" - the approach Williams offers may serve as a partial solution. However, despite his theoretical commitments Williams himself never actively carried out research of actual, everyday cultural practice. As such, several key middle-range concepts linking the study of actual practice, situated learning, and Williams's Marxism are required. In the remaining space, I'll briefly point to some of these concepts and refer the reader to the original texts for fuller explanations.

Concepts for Cultural Materialism in Interaction

Understanding Cultural Materialism at the level of practice largely fulfils the basic tenets of historical materialism by placing actual activities of people at the centre of analysis. Pushing the dialectical method further, Lukács (1971) added to our understanding of the "proletarian standpoint" in the course of activity. More recently various Feminist Standpoint theorist (e.g. Smith, 1997) have provided important elaborations. Standpoint theory is central to Cultural Materialism and the radicalization of Vygotsky. While standpoints represent people's perspectives within interaction, we are still left with understanding (and demonstrating) how those perspectives come to actually affect the ongoing interaction. I suggest this linkage can be best understood as a process of "framing and keying" procedures (Goffman, 1974). These procedures account for how the meaning and the "casting" of any situation is produced by participants in interaction. These "mini-concepts" allow us to understand how, for instance, people actually activate their differing standpoints (and in so doing accomplish this standpoint) in coordinated activity. They also help to understand the relationship between learning, experience and cultural material practice. Of course standpoints are only realized in activity, this does not mean people are free to realize any standpoint they wish in this activity. There are broad cultural material structures of participation, but the stability of these framing, keying and casting procedures over time can also be understood as

body of (shifting) sensibilities, preferences, etc., or what Bourdieu (1884) calls "habitus" which can be understood to act as a basic social/practical heuristic for ongoing framing and interaction. The central point is that this approach to adult learning offers a chance to appreciate both broad structures of power and social difference in learning, as well as (and this is the important contribution I think) how these structures actual are produced in the minutiae of the everyday.

Conclusions

Cultural Materialist theory can help us struggle with the ways that structure and agency co-exist and how social transformation can occur. Adult education theorists must resist the temptation to substitute classification for explanation. The approach offered here suggests we begin with a close examination of learning, power and practice in the everyday. Bourdieu's "Theory of Practice", Certeau's "Theory of Everyday Practice", Goffman's "Dramaturgy", Garfinkel's "Ethnomethodology", Sacks's "Conversation Analysis", and lastly, in the realm of education, Vygotsky's "Cultural Historical/Soviet Psychology" all focus on the structure and agency of actual practice. All need to be carefully evaluated. And, all offer relevant starting points for a Cultural Materialist approach to adult learning.

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PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RELATIONSHIPS FOR ADULT EDUCATORS

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Adult education has never been pulled in so many directions as it has in recent history. Always attempting to "adapt" to the trends of the times, adult education now seeks to add courses by distance education tools and accommodate a growing private enterprise in Canada. Education as a commodity has been substituted for the social interaction or building of relationships, public relationships, in face-to-face classes, groups in the community, and institutional settings. "How to" and content has supplanted the original intention of adult education, to engage in life for a social purpose. Adult education as a communitarian and community-based enterprise needs to be recovered in our postmodern and global world.

Historically, adult educators have engaged at a community level to build a dense network of social groups that interact on substantive community issues. During Roby Kidd's tenure as leader in adult education in Canada, he developed major public relationships for adult education. At that time, adult educators saw the need to participate actively in local, regional and national associations, churches, and social movements. Furthermore, many adult educators were active in forums and community debates on issues that provided clarity and resolution in community life. Through our active participation in the public arena, we were consulted and engaged on arising policy and regulations. In fact, the legal system and social system often relied heavily on civic organizations to implement policies and hold people accountable for actions.

Today, that has changed. Adult educators are redefining their roles and at the same time there is disintegration to community life. There is a decline in public participation, a decline in voting, and a confusion and disenchantment with the political processes of representative democracy. This is alarming since one of the preconditions for a healthy democracy is a dense social connectedness and civic engagement in public life. As new countries embrace democracy, advanced democracies seem to be losing the social capital needed to stay healthy.

In a recent survey of 35 countries Putnam (1995) found that, "social trust and civic engagement are strongly correlated; the greater the density of associational membership in a society, the more trusting its citizens. Trust and engagement are two facets of the same underlying factor--social capital" (p. 72). Another way to say this is that people trust each other more when they are engaged in public relationships. Without trust in each other, people withdraw into their private worlds and fail to develop both themselves and their contribution to citizenry, all of which is needed for healthy democracy.

The data base that informs this article is a series of interviews with eleven U. S. national Industrial Areas Foundations (IAF) trainers. Over a period of two years, I have interviewed and consulted with these people as they have continued to teach perhaps thousands of adults in the art of broad-based organizing. IAF is an adult education consultant organization with a forty year history in community organization in the United States. There are presently 62 organizations in 25 states and 110 professionally trained organizers who are IAF sponsored in the States, five

organizations in England, two in Germany and one beginning in Ireland. Highly successful in community organizing, these trainers are particularly articulate in the areas of power, self-interest, and public and private relationships.

The ideas and concepts and their definitions in this paper come from my participation twice in IAF national training, once in 1980 and again in 1997. I also place myself in this study as I have actively participated in setting up two IAF organizations, one in Lincoln, Nebraska, in the early 1970s and one in Edmonton, Alberta, over the last few years, 1997-99. We have had two 2-day Edmonton training sessions for our growing band of leaders from labour unions, churches, social agencies, and neighborhood associations. This concrete participation in an organization strengthens my understanding and growing knowledge that IAF has changed from primarily an issue-based organization, for which it is very famous and very successful, to one of a relationship-based organization. Driven by the Judeo-Christian ethic and the democratic ideals, IAF seeks to build a strong relational foundation among it's organizational members BEFORE going into action, which often takes 2-3 years. Over these years, notions of what is democracy, what is one's self-identity in a democracy, what values form a criteria for assessing what to do and how to act in the public arena, among many other issues, all are debated out in a diverse group of citizens. The essential teachings of IAF are highlighted in this article with a focus on public and private relationships using the data from IAF training notes and transcripts. Secondly, private relationship characteristics are compared with public relationships. Public relationships are directly in our self interests as adult educators as we work to become successful at acting in the public arena.

Public relationships

By public relationships I mean any relationship that requires us to engage in public life, whether it be participating in policy formation or on decision-making boards, in interest groups, in NGOs, or in social movements, i.e., any civil society participation. It is primarily voluntary in nature which makes for highly motivated adults. In adult education lexicon this is citizen education, popular education, community participation, and community action. It is different from attending classes even though these too are a type of public relationships and move us into a controlled social arena. But often class offerings in adult basic education, literacy training and post-secondary education are skill based designed for credentialing to gain entrance into the job market. Citizen education, while certainly can be learned through course materials, requires experiential learning in the nonformal public arena. It is in community, in dialogue, that the quality of life is determined. Furthermore, for real change to take place, a diversity of people from neighborhoods, from various interest groups, and from various races, incomes, and sexual orientations must participate in the decision-making process.

Why do people bother to engage in public relationships? Some people engage in the public arena because their job requires it; some because they hold a belief that they should participate in the democratic process. Some engage because they become emotionally involved in the issue, some because there is a perception that they are being treated unfairly. Motivation to participate in adult education classes

are similar to reasons people join movements or become engaged in public life. It's boring at home, it's more interesting to rub shoulders with people who have different orientations to life and different ideas about things. We are, after all, human animals who by nature like to be with each other.

When people take control and become responsible for some aspect of their lives, they exercise power. Normal adults have the capacity, are *able* to organize themselves and groups for the purpose of exercising power to get something done. Rollo May in *Power and Innocence* (1972) maintains that adults do not have the right to be naive or innocent. It's okay for children but adults must take some responsibility for their lives. Adults who are victims of society have no control over their lives, are unable to take responsibility, often gripe and are needy, justifiably so at times. There is a kind of corruption to being powerless. To have power means people are doers who take responsibility, are reciprocal in public relationships, and agitate themselves and others not to be victims.

In the public arena there is relational power among those who have organized power and those groups who seek to have power. Organizing into public relationships is about creating some space for power. Both groups change over time as agitation occurs in face-to-face conversation. Questions arise that stir the other to think a different way. Strong people are not afraid of conflict and they know that tension gives energy. Flexibility is required as social learning is not systematic or linear but circular and multi-faceted in community life. While learning about the problem or issue under review, there is also learning about people, who they are, what they think, how they interact with one another, and what their orientation to life is all about.

In IAF organizations the explicit learning is usually an issue which draws people with similar interests together, e.g., women's issues, environment issues, poverty issues and so forth. As public relationships in groups working on issues develop into ones of trust and mutual respect, public engagement with those already in power, policy holders or officials, can begin. There is a recognition by those who have power that power has been taken by a legitimate group. In legal terms this is called "quid pro quo", something for something, or I'll scratch your back if you'll scratch mine. In public relationships we *respect* each other because we each need the other to get what we want. What holds people together in the public arena is mutual self interests. Since self interests tend to change over time, those relationships are often tentative and are not permanent, unlike family relationships which are bound together simply because there are blood ties. Through the friction, tension, and agitation in the public arena, culture is formed, new knowledge is created, social cohesion is approached, and democracy is practiced.

In neo-conservative times where the market has usurped those voices in civil society, the power is out of balance. The market has continually encroached upon civil space and now has even commodified work done for free in the home, (child care, housekeeping, senior care) and co-opted volunteer jobs in the community (community developers, health care workers in the field). We have come to rely on the market to pay for services, at one time willingly performed for free, as we change from being citizens into consumers. The voices of adults who still band together on issues, are becoming weaker as there are fewer of us with less

time to spend on these issues as we exhaust ourselves with work, family obligations, and schooling. The power of our numbers and our voices seems to be waning.

IAF organizations have emerged, along with other community building groups, to encourage people to become more public in their lives. For the most part people only spend about 15 percent of their time in the public arena, the rest in their private lives. IAF groups come together for "deliberate democracy" and social learning to form active citizens (Welton, 1997, p. 28). While democracy, issue development, social learning, and citizen formation are the explicit intentions of IAF organizations, it is the development of people in their own growth that Christine Stephens, national organizer, maintains is the real value of these organizations. She says, "But I just think that unless you have a public life, unless you're given that arena to operate in, there are parts of your personality that maybe never emerge."

Private relationships

According to David Bohm, we live in a relational world (a holographic universe), where the individual impacts on the collective and the collective impacts on the individual. Our thinking causes us to behave as though the opposite were true: that we live in a fragmented world where individual parts are separate from each other. Paradoxically, as people become more embedded in community life, there is simultaneously an enlarged vision of who they are. "As we increasingly recognize the interconnectedness of nations and peoples, we also know that individual initiative, freedom, and responsibility are the key elements of progress and of cultural and social evolution" (Stein, 1998, p. xxii).

In this section, I will highlight the implicit aspects of relationships, first, compared to the public relationships as discussed above. Both public and private relationships are situated in social theory, developing a sense of agency in the public arena through the support of community. Change is contextualized in social policy, in social structures, and in quality of life.

In private lives, we relate to friends and family on a personal basis. These people know our strengths and weaknesses, care for us, and we trust them enough to confide our innermost thoughts and feelings. We know that they can keep certain information secret and confidential. In the public arena we don't confide to this extent; we often hide our feelings and fail to say what we really think. Because the arena is open to public scrutiny, we focus on the reasons for actions in a straight forward, visible way. In the private arena, however, we are indirect and exclusive. We have a group of intimate friends and relationships that is not open to others. We don't have to have good reasons to act the way we do since we assume they understand us and will accept us. For instance, while a family member may frustrate us with unacceptable behaviour, we still regard him/her as a member of the family. We may not like the behaviour but they are still connected to us exclusively in that unit. In the public arena we may not like the behaviour of a public official and we can work to get them out of office. Once they are gone, they're gone; a family member is not that easy to get rid of.

There is spontaneous behaviour in the private arena, informal and casual. In the public arena the relationships are formal; we maintain boundaries, speak

formally to one another, and assume a kind of task behaviour. We chit-chat on tasks and the outward aspects to our lives, but in the private relational arena we have conversation. Conversation is dialogue on substantive issues with a kind of give and take that is highly reflective as to what is going on. Unconscious material rises to the surface, is examined, and reworked. A safe environment is required for this kind of conversation as there is an opening up and revealing of the intricacies of the self that could possibly be harmful if revealed publicly. It is the reworking of thinking, beliefs, and feelings in the private arena.

In the private arena we are self-giving, loyal, and faithful. The nature of these characteristics is subjective as it is based on love and caring; this is fuzzy, warm, and hard to articulate at times. In the public arena we set up publicly agreed upon units of accountability, an objective standard, that is clear and direct. Everyone can articulate the process and the task. We receive nurturing in private relationships and power out of public relationships. We operate with people who are like us in the private arena and we operate with people who are sometimes very different than we are, a diversity of people, in the public arena.

The comparison of the public and the private arenas seems to draw clear distinctions between the two. Private relationships are subjective and public ones are objective. But relationships among friends in community organizations appropriate intimate relationships where innermost thinking and feelings are revealed. When groups of people take the time to explore their thinking enough to articulate it in different ways to others, real change can take place. Mezirow (1991) calls this kind of reflection dialogue on meaning perspectives. This is evident in IAF organizations in the States which seek to redefine power so that it does not look like "power-over" but rather "power with." When we take the time to find out what the self interests of people are, we listen a lot and we converse face-to-face a lot. These are private relationship kinds of characteristics used for public arena work.

IAF groups work hard on providing more low income housing, raising the minimum wage, improving the education in inner city schools, and addressing the issues associated with hard-core unemployment, among others. IAF sponsored groups in the various cities are mostly successful on the projects they choose for work. The tactics and strategies are time-tested for success, and the foundational orientation seems to capture people's imagination and longing for a vision of the future that is more integrated, more whole, and more peaceful.

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FROM LEARNING TO CREDENTIAL: PLAR

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This paper will explore some of the problems, perspectives and practicalities surrounding Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR).
Cet article examinera quelques problèmes, perspectives ainsi que les détails pratiques concernant l'Evaluation et la Reconnaissance des Acquis (l'ERA).

Our research for *Learning Labour: A PLAR Project* has caused us to consider a range of issues related to PLAR. It has also brought us into contact with PLAR advocates, many of whom are obsessed with the process and dismiss any criticism of PLAR as a basic attack on the principle. This is unfortunate. In our view a serious examination of such criticism can help strengthen the case for PLAR. If we can recognise the limitations of PLAR, then we can better focus on its possibilities.

There are a number of ways of assessing prior learning; these include challenge exams, portfolio assessment, and demonstrations of skills and knowledge (for a fuller definition see Thomas in Scott et al., 1998, pp.330/1). We will ignore transfer credit since this is essentially the transferring of credit gained from one institution's courses to apply to courses and programs to another. The essence of PLAR is the recognition of non-course learning, learning that is in most cases gained "experientially"[1], perhaps as a consequence of other activity or sometimes resulting from private self-guided study. The recognition of prior learning can also include recognising learning in non-vocational, non-formal adult education and ascribing it credit.

At the core of many PLAR problems is a central contradiction of formal education that is writ even larger when considering experiential learning. The purpose of education is learning but the outcome of formal education is increasingly the credential. As a result many learners (and educators) substitute the credential for learning as their central objective. For those seeking PLAR credit recognition can become the only goal. Instead of using PLAR to focus attention on the gaps in skills or knowledge – what is yet to be learned – the emphasis is placed on maximising the number of courses the student can avoid studying. If it can be demonstrated that a student has knowledge of 60% of a course curriculum the PLAR advocate will argue they should be given the credit i.e. treated as a "pass." An instructor who responds by suggesting they should study the areas about which they have no demonstrated knowledge – the other 40% – is dismissed as applying "double standards", for is it not the case that their students can pass with 60%?

There are lots of issues here, ranging from the minutia of how specific instructors grade and assess course content to the bigger questions of what is the purpose of course grades and what are they measuring? (For example, it could be argued that the formal education system simply provides a filter mechanism to grade future employees at public expense.) There are also implied questions about what exactly is being learnt; when an individual decides they need to know more about a certain topic in order to solve a particular problem, they are unlikely to be focussed on developing critical reading and writing skills. In most cases they are not going to seek out differing perspectives on a problem and then write an assessment of the arguments. In other words the kind of learning that is going on in most examples of experiential learning is different from course-based learning. It is not inferior learning, just different. That learning may well be

very valuable when undertaking course-based learning. But it may be quite legitimate to argue that the prior learning is sufficiently different that it cannot be credited as if the applicant had undertaken the course of study (for a more theoretical discussion of this issue see Briton et al., 1998).

From a traditional adult education perspective some of the issues involved are very familiar. If we take a broad sweep of adult education we find that credentialism has overtaken many formally non-credential adult courses and programs. Traditionally adult education could be defined as outside of the "post-secondary system", courses were offered to achieve a number of purposes including social and community building, Canadian adult education can historically be defined as "education for citizenship" (Selman, in Scott et al., 1998). The outcome of the course was not to be measured by a "grade" but by the reflections and social actions of its participants. The learning could be individual and social but it was not assessed for the purposes of credit. As adult educators adjusted non-credit courses to allow for awards of credit they had to face up to many of the same issues that are associated with PLAR. A major challenge was to retain the social purposes and collective learning of traditional adult education practice while ensuring that the course would pass any external examination of its credit-worthiness. In some cases courses were abandoned or changed significantly in order to adapt to this new learning environment. It cannot be argued that in all cases this was "a bad thing" but it can be argued that, generally speaking, the learning objectives were changed to reflect what could be tested and credentialised. This same shift in emphasis -- from learning to credential -- can be observed in PLAR processes.

Although some critics of PLAR can be dismissed as elitists who argue that only course-based learning is real learning it is interesting to reflect on the PLAR process itself as one that only recognizes course-similar learning. When challenging for credit a PLAR applicant (sometimes misleadingly referred to as a PLAR student) will be counseled to emphasize the skills and knowledge areas that are similar to those that might be expected from a graduate of a particular program. If the applicant argues that she or he "has all this other experience, knowledge and skills and shouldn't that count for something?" they will be politely told that that learning does not count; only the learning that can be credentialised counts. Similarly, if the academic assessor suggests that there should be recognition for this other knowledge they too will be told that can only happen if they can fit it into the agreed criteria.

This may be all that can be achieved given, the limited purposes of PLAR and the restrictive nature of some programs of study, but it should make PLAR advocates reflect a little more on the processes they are advocating. The measure of the relevance of an individual's learning is a measure against whatever it is the institution is teaching. The learning that is being valued is that which most closely matches course content. From this perspective PLAR evangelists should not be characterized as radicals about to rock the foundations of education (Thomas, 1998)[2] but rather as conservatives entrenching individualized learning goals, expressed in terms of specific skills and compartmentalized knowledge that is unrelated to broader experience and understandings of society and ideas. Having already lost adult education to credentialism adult educators are about to lose adult informal learning to the same scourge! To put a positive spin on it, the problem for learners, educators and adult educators is how to keep *learning* at the heart of what we do while at the same time exploring how the prior knowledge of adults can be

recognized in the formal education system and beyond. (This can be seen as part of the argument for *Adult Education as Vocation,* Collins, 1991.)

Much of the energy behind the recognition for prior learning is coming from the workplace. The argument for PLAR of vocational skills comes in many forms and from many different directions. In some cases unions are arguing that their members are undervalued, that their skills and knowledge are not being recognized or rewarded; in other circumstances, employers are pushing PLAR, arguing that with PLAR in place training and credentialising can be speeded up and unnecessary duplication avoided; from another perspective, individual employees may want PLAR to enhance their promotion possibilities. PLAR of vocational skills may seem obvious and essentially unproblematic but there are still issues that need to be addressed. These include some of the "tolerable contradictions" referred to by Alan Thomas (1998, op. cit.) – who will decide what counts and what does not, and will college enrolments fall or will PLAR boost student numbers? Some of the issues become many-sided; for example, what level of competence equals what skill, what is the relationship between apprenticeship and PLAR? (Individual workers, different unions and different employers may line up differently on such questions.) Will PLAR processes be used to restrict worker access to educational and training opportunities or restrict workers to employer-specific knowledge? Is PLAR a vehicle for employers (and governments) to claim they have a highly skilled workforce without having to provide training courses to actually achieve that objective? Are some of the more broadly based college programs threatened by a narrow focus on specific skills? If so, is there a clash between the interests of some faculty unions (opposing PLAR) and private sector unions (wanting PLAR for their members)?

Many of the issues here go beyond the scope of this paper; our focus is on the impact of PLAR on educational programs with a more academic content, although there are clearly areas of overlap. Should traditional academic institutions recognize prior learning and, if so, how can they do so in a way that does not compartmentalize knowledge? Traditional post-secondary institutions focussed on recruiting 18-year-olds may choose to ignore PLAR. But as institutions open the door wider to include older "adult" students and as they begin to accept that part-time study is legitimate, it makes sense to review what they are doing and how they are doing it. Why, for example, even have admissions criteria? Why not have an open door policy; recognize that adult students' experience to date qualifies them to enter courses or programs? When designing course work, why not do it in a way that allows students to skim or skip those sections where they have prior knowledge? When designing assignments, why not allow students to blend their studies with their prior and current experience? Why not make the timelines flexible so students can move as quickly or slowly -- as their prior knowledge (and time available) demands -- through a course or program? All of these kinds of mechanisms recognize prior learning and avoid the problems of assessment.[3]

Beyond the above policies, it may be possible to institute forms of PLAR which do grant advanced standing/course credits to students through the recognition that their prior learning is extensive and deserving. The rationale for doing this is simple enough, most certificate and degree courses are designed to ground students in an area of knowledge and assumes *no* prior knowledge beyond what could be expected from a high school student. Even when targeted at more mature students, they are mimicked on

programs of study designed for graduating high school students. Adult students may not need to undergo the exact same journey to arrive at the overall understanding of a particular subject area. For example, a student who has held a number of positions in her or his union over a number of years is likely to have insights and understandings that go beyond those that can be expected from the average 18-year-old. Or, indeed, those from another adult student with no such experience. If they are all enrolled in a labour studies program, it is likely that the student with a rich life experience can demonstrate credit-worthy knowledge relevant to the program (even if it does not match up exactly with the courses offered in that program). A similar argument can be made for students engaged in other areas of study. In the case of the labour studies student, it may also be possible to grant some credit for non-credit union education courses undertaken. This may result in a student doing fewer courses, but they will still have to take some -- it does not exclude the student from undertaking the hard grind of course work; from the tasks of critical reading and writing that is associated with academic work. What it does do is accept that learning outside of the academy is valuable and relevant; it may be different learning from course-based learning but it can, nonetheless, result in valuable knowledge, some of which will be credit-worthy.

Many PLAR advocates are keen to reduce all courses to a list of "outcomes" or "competencies" because they share a limited behaviourally influenced view of education and learning. (See Briton et al., 1998, for a critique of these approaches.) The argument that a particular course has been put together in order to challenge a student's understanding of a particular area; or to develop critical awareness around certain issues; or to deepen insights; leaves them cold. For some courses it's the journey that is important not a specific outcome. For example, a particular history or literature course may consist of reading a set of texts, carefully chosen for differing interpretations and designed to bring out contrasting opinions. Such a journey is unlikely to be traveled outside of the course. PLAR advocates should just accept that such a course is outside their remit. This kind of caveat is not to suggest that PLAR does not pose fundamental questions for the formal education system (as argued by Thomas, 1998, op.cit., amongst others). For example, what exactly are the "core" areas of knowledge that constitute a particular degree; what is the relevance of "residency"; and why is a first degree usually a four-year program? Many degree programs simply accept existing conventions while others have not undergone significant rethinking for years. Institutions favour conformity, a suggestion that one degree program should be 120 credits and another 111 and yet another 93 would create organizational apoplexy! Comparisons with other programs would become difficult to systemize. Apart from the general challenge posed by PLAR, what it also allows for is the individual candidate to challenge the course program and maybe make it fit better with the areas of skills and knowledge she or he needs, and maybe undertake a 93 credit, four-year degree!

Learning Labour: A PLAR Project

The research project, based at Athabasca University (AU), is part of the New Approaches to Lifelong Learning (NALL) initiative headed up by David Livingstone at OISE. It has also received funds from AU and HRDC. To date most of the fieldwork (undertaken by Winston Gereluk) has focussed on collecting and mapping course information from Canada's unions. We expect soon to be able to make recommendations

as to the credit worthiness of these non-credit courses: by producing a matrix that labour studies programs can use for ascribing credit within their particular program. We do not want this process to corrupt the original intention of the union courses -- we recognize that those courses have a social purpose and that the knowledge gained by the individual course members is a kind of "side-product" of collective educational activity (Spencer, 1998, pp. 96-110). Our argument is that union activists should be able to get credit for their learning if they so wish, and that such learning is relevant to college and university labour studies and labour relations programs. The granting of advanced standing may encourage union students to enroll in labour studies/relations programs and eventually, the students' knowledge may feed back into union activity and organization.

In addition to assessing labour education data the project has begun to look at how we may assess learning garnered from union activity. We have used a fairly standard portfolio process to assess this experiential learning. We still need to evaluate whether or not this has captured the breadth of union experience once those portfolios are submitted and reviewed. At this stage, we do not have any great insights as to how we might avoid the disaggregation and compartmentalization of knowledge discussed above. The project has generated a number of by-products, one is a better understanding of labour education in Canada (Gereluk et. al. 2000); another is a clearer understanding of the limitations and possibilities of PLAR -- as discussed here. (Readers have to decide for themselves whether this is worthy of credit or recognition!)

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[1] Thomas, 1998 op.cit. has suggested that all learning, including course-based learning, is "experiential". We understand the point he is making but feel the differences between the kind of learning activity and learning outcomes associated with a course of study and the learning activity and outcomes generally associated with non-course learning are significant. We therefore retain the term "experiential" learning to describe non-course learning.

[2] Thomas refers to PLAR as the "most radical innovation in education" (330, 341) but considers that it can also be "an instrument of seduction" (342) into the existing education system. We would argue that many PLAR advocates are happy with this limited objective of recognition within the education system.

[3] All of above are also characteristics of Athabasca University. Athabasca is an open university using distance education techniques, essentially catering for part-time adult students. It offers both 3 and 4-year equivalent degrees -- 90 and 120 credits.

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SHE SAID, HE SAID, THEY SAID: HIGH DRAMA IN THE CONTINUING SAGA OF GRADUATE STUDENT SUPERVISION

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Abstract

This symposium uses video vignettes of uncomfortable encounters in the research supervision process to illustrate the wide range of theoretical and practical problems that accompany the student-supervisor relationship. Because this relationship is formed to facilitate the construction of knowledge, it is important to understand its dynamics and the effects that dramatically asymmetrical power relations have on the knowledge that is produced and the people who are producing it.

Since 1996, two of us have been talking—first privately, then in public—about our relationship as feminist graduate student and non-feminist male advisor in an adult education graduate program. Some of the dialogue centered on our feelings of discomfort, annoyance and difference from the other. Other discussions centered on the power relations between us, how much effect gender had upon that relationship, what personal, professional and political expectations we had for each other, what ethical stances we brought to the relationship, and the fundamentally different epistemological, methodological and ontological views we brought to discussions about research.

When making presentations about what we have learned from these discussions, we received an overwhelmingly positive response to our question: "Should this public dialogue continue?" Interestingly, reception to the "exposure" of our discussions varied widely. On the positive end of the continuum was the (feminist) reaction of "it's about time we started talking about this!" which has resulted in at least one attempt to replicate the dialogue in the context of feminist (Jarvis and Zukas, 1998) graduate supervision. At the other end, reactions from some traditional scholars in the field included allusions to "navel-gazing," and the "self-indulgence" of our use of personal narrative as a framing methodology.

We then moved to open up this personal conversation to include more of those in adult education. We attempted to place our dialogic relationship into the contexts of power relations, ethics, and the responsibilities we have toward each other, the research and supervisory process, the institution, and the field of adult education. We felt that there had been much discussion of these issues from a theoretical perspective but less empirical data. So while the student-supervisor relationship is at the heart of the graduate education experience, it is rarely used as a site for the analysis of what Tisdell (1993) has called "interlocking systems of power, privilege and oppression in adult higher education." Using the framework suggested by Tisdell, we examined how the supervisory process can reproduce or challenge the structured power relations of higher education and society in general. We talked about the role each of us plays in maintaining or resisting the teacher-student relationship and the institutional pressures to reproduce existing power structures.

Addressing issues of power, identity, epistemology, sexuality, oppression, and other factors in the student/supervisor relationship is important because they influence the knowledge production/construction process that is so central to graduate education. In this symposium three of us with a long-standing interest in the supervisory process in graduate adult education continue the analysis of this relationship using contemporary theoretical frameworks. In this paper we are shifting the focus of analysis—at least temporarily—from our personal relationships/experiences to a collection of video vignettes of supervisory encounters produced as part of a faculty development project at the University of British Columbia. The video consists of 14 vignettes, three of which we have selected for detailed analysis in this symposium. These vignettes are dramatic re-creations of supervisory encounters reported by graduate students. They are intended to stimulate discussion about potential problems in the supervisory relationship, but they are also wonderful illustrations of the deep structures of power and oppression that are embedded in the knowledge creation/production process.

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- **Vignette # 1—"Adios, amigo."** *Shortly before she leaves on a research trip, a faculty member informs a graduate student she is supervising of her plans. She advises him that she may be somewhat difficult to contact at times because she is travelling to an isolated place. The graduate student reacts to the news of her venture with something less than enthusiasm. He points out how much he needs her support during this time, and asks what he will do if the line of communication is broken.*

I feel the pain/panic of the student and the consternation of the supervisor who "is sure" she mentioned this trip to him earlier. The student is at a crucial time in his research and senses the need for close contact and something more than the promised e-mail connection. The supervisor is eager to get into the field to continue her research and is somewhat miffed that the student seems so surprised by the "reminder" and so insistent that she is "abandoning him." Is this a simple case of poor communication or is something deeper at work? He says this is the first time he has heard about this trip; she says that she mentioned it to him some time ago. If this is the extent of the problem, then "putting it in writing" would be a reasonable prescription for avoiding this misunderstanding. But other readings of the exchange are as plausible and reveal much more about asymmetrical power relations and the moral rights and obligations of both supervisors and students.

The student is pleased with his progress and thankful to the supervisor for her help in reaching this stage, so we can assume that a trusting—possibly even a "caring"—relationship has developed. It could be interpreted as quite "healthy" that the student felt able to so openly express his shock and dismay. The sense of abandonment he expresses may reflect natural insecurities he feels given his relative powerlessness and his dependence on her to help him successfully complete his degree. Maybe she has played a highly active role in the research and unintentionally fostered his dependence by making key decisions for him, defending his work from challenges by others, providing structure and discipline, or linking his work too closely to her own. Or maybe he has misinterpreted the caring she has shown to him as much more unconditional than she intended.

Faculty members do have legitimate commitments that take them away from campus—sometimes for extended periods—and these absences do complicate the lives of students. Students have the right to expect their supervisors to be reasonably accessible and to notify them of commitments that may limit their availability or the character of their working relationship. Although these can be viewed simply as practical matters that would be attended to in the normal course of supervision, I am intrigued by the moral questions that can be raised within a university context in which power is so concentrated in the people and structures of the institution.

In the private spaces where most student supervision occurs, it is quite possible for faculty to force students into a dependent role *whether or not this is in the best interests of the students*. One reading of this vignette is that the faculty member has forced the student into such a dependent role that he is unable to make progress on his work without her presence. His shock and dismay about her imminent departure for "the field" may simply reflect his recognition of the consequences of this dependent relationship. If one of the goals of graduate education is to help students become independent researchers, then such dependence is difficult to justify, and if this dependence has been encouraged by the supervisor, then there are good reasons to question the ethics of this practice.

Another reading of the vignette is that the student is not fulfilling his obligations in the supervisory relationship and that very possibly this trip to "the field" will contribute to the student's development by demonstrating that he can make progress on his work with less direct involvement of the supervisor. If we think of learning to do research as a developmental process in which students begin in a highly dependent role and gradually progress to a much less dependent role, then leaving for "the field" could be viewed as a cunning strategy for encouraging student development. In such a reading of the vignette, it could be viewed as irresponsible to be too available and too helpful to students as they strive to become independent researchers. The protestations of the student then can be viewed as resistance to the expectation that he take greater responsibility for his work.

Focusing this analysis on the rights and obligations of the student and supervisor masks the underlying power dynamics that allow supervisors—and universities—to largely determine what is

regarded as "appropriate" student behaviour. As can be seen from the next two vignettes though, power relations and difference are important elements in any analysis of the student-supervisor relationship.

- **Vignette # 2—"All together now...."** *A thesis committee meets to discuss the draft of a chapter that the graduate student has circulated for comment. Members of the committee and particularly the thesis supervisor are trying to cope with differences in views, and at the same time issues of maintaining harmony. The student becomes caught in the 'crossfire' of conflicting approaches, and the supervisor does not appear to be providing adequate direction to the meeting.*

The student enters the room, sits and smiles, hopefully (and naively?) at the three of them. She does not know that she has just interrupted their wrangling over her writing; one person thinks it salvageable, one says she's completely missed the point, one splutters incoherently. I wince at her nervousness. I am cringing, I know what is coming. I have been her. I have seen her. I have heard her voice, heard her agitation, her need, heard it echo uneasily in my own spaces, and in my research participant's stories. Her tone is supplicating, then incredulous. She has worked for three months on this chapter, incorporating the material and the changes they demanded, even though she has not understood why they were wanted. She has convinced herself they know best. She believes in them. She trusts them. She is constructing herself, they are constructing her, in her identity as "good student." This is a committee meeting. This is graduate supervision. This is a discursive practice, caught on video tape. This is one of the rooms, one of the spaces, where the dividing practices that Foucault (1980) speaks of begin to construct subjectivity. Classification, and then examination, will solidify that subjectivity, and, working with the woman's own subjectification of herself, a final product will emerge—the new doctor, the new master. For the student will do what they tell her, unwillingly, maybe, but if she wants that degree, she must. Just what is going on in this space, at this examination? Is it about her research, her literature review, her methodology, or her worthiness to be an accredited scholar, or is it about how the committee wants to construct her as a "good" adult education student—whatever that might mean to some of them.

A genealogical analysis of supervision, one that "cultivate[s] the details and the accidents that accompany every beginning; scrupulously attentive to the petty .. malicious minutiae of discipline and investigation" (Foucault, cited in Rabinow, 1984), would, perhaps show that the work of research in adult education is about making new adult educators, and not about how such research is conducted, or written up, nor about its implications for practice. Does not discourse, working through the power-knowledge structures of the university adult education program, legitimate the truths it has established for itself? And do those tried and true narratives still articulate with needs/desires of the postmodern adult student? Usher, Bryant and Johnston (1997) suggest that adult education has moved to take its place with entertainment and culture—that it is a part of the consumer culture now—and that information technology and the changes in the global economy have taken adult education a long way from the old social movements, the WEA and the Women's Institutes.

We need to see, too, that students are changing—that, as Usher et al say, learners are concerned about lifestyle practices, confessional practices, and vocational practices, not the same old, same old... But do discursive supervisory practices, worked out in the approval of research topics, of data collection and analysis using "acceptable" or "valid" research methodologies, and of "legitimate" knowledge production and theory construction, result in the construction of adult educators in the same old mold? Is the committee process, indeed, the supervisory relationship itself, something that should survive the turn of the century? What kind of new doctors do we want to turn out in 2001, 2010, 2021?

What responses will adult educators make to the challenges, like this one, issued to them from feminists, poststructuralists, postcolonialists and queer theorists? What kind of counter discourses are at work? Here, say in this discussion of supervision, this conversation? A conversation between me, the graduate student, and two professors, as I learn from them how to regulate myself, and become the "good" adult education student—presenting my research at conferences.... And what of the discourse at play between the full professor and the assistant professor? What new subjectivities are forming in this triangle?

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- **Vignette # 3—"Where does that leave me now?"** *After receiving the first draft of the research work, the supervisor realizes unexpectedly, that she has miscalculated the degree of personal impact that the work would have on her. She gives the graduate student the news that she can no longer work with him as a supervisor. His response is to emphasize that they have a mutual commitment, that he thought he had made the nature of the work as clear as he could, and that he is faced with a nearly impossible task if she does not continue to work with him.*

I am pleased to join the other two authors of this paper because I share with them a belief that supervising graduate students as they work on their thesis research is one of the most significant areas of teaching and learning in graduate programs. It is also a very particular site of adult learning and education, where there is enormous potential to work dialogically (where faculty are learners as well as teachers, where students are teachers as well as learners). A few years ago I played a key role in organizing seminars, gathering materials and producing the video (Supervision Scenes) from which we have selected three scenes to analyze as points of departure for our discussion about power relations, ethics and responsibilities in graduate adult education.

I have chosen a scene in which a gay male graduate student and his heterosexual female supervisor have met to discuss the first preliminary analysis of the student's research project which is exploring how underground theatre (in a play about gay male sexual activity) is attempting to challenge hetero-normativity. For brevity's sake I will call them Bob and Sue respectively. Sue has just informed the student that she cannot discuss the work. Initially, Bob is not concerned and assumes Sue cannot talk about it because she has not had the time to examine it closely. With growing alarm Bob learns that Sue has indeed read the submission and has concluded that because she is so disturbed by the content, she cannot continue advising him, arguing that because of her emotional response, she cannot maintain the distance, rigor and responsibility that is necessary. Bob challenges her, reminding her that she knew from the beginning what he was going to do, what the subject matter was, and that she had supported him. Bob also refers to her advocacy work in other contexts in relation to gay rights. Sue, who appears shaken and dismayed, remains firm with her decision. Bob is left stunned and angry.

I chose this scenario because it spoke to many issues that are central to my own struggles to marry my political feminist principles with my role as an advisor working in a large, relatively conservative university with a long history as a hierarchically-organized institution where politically-motivated research has been, at minimum, regarded as a problem and at times considered antithetical to the traditions of research and the creation of knowledge. Our graduate adult education program and larger department attracts many students who choose to work on projects that challenge relations of inequality and are concerned with social justice. This scene also makes me think of several of my colleagues who share with me a desire to create new spaces in the academy for graduate students to undertake such work. I am continually challenged to locate my practice knowing the limits and the possibilities of disturbing old borders. As a feminist faculty member, which is a location that assumes a kind of political practice that challenges relations of inequality, how does one work as an intellectual ally with students whose research is concerned with social justice? My own feminist agenda does not exist in a vacuum, rather my practice as an intellectual ally is constituted by a set of institutional relations that are hierarchical at best and oppressive at their worst.

We surmise that the supervisor in this video scene has a history of working to challenge heterosexism and homophobia, but she faces a serious challenge to that commitment in this moment. Why, I wonder, did she not anticipate the controversial character of the student's project? What is the ethical and responsible thing to do when a supervisor finds herself with strong negative or positive reactions to students' work? I also wonder if she has come to realize the dangerous territory she might be in given that the academy may dismiss this student's project and raise questions regarding her role as supervisor and faculty member. What are the ethical issues here? She could be considered to be acting ethically and responsibly by acknowledging her reaction and recognizing that it will interfere with her role as supervisor. However, her backing out at this moment in the student's process could also be viewed as

irresponsible. At minimum, if she was to leave this relationship she must endeavor to find another supervisor who can support the project and give the crucial guidance. But I think there may be another moment or several that could be explored before she arrives at this predicament. If she was aware of the controversial character of the project, she needs to assess her resources and find other supporters, hopefully other members of the student's committee.

What is the source of her discomfort? Perhaps part of her strong reaction arises from her heterosexual location. Has her earlier political support for gay and lesbian rights been a reflection of a politics of tolerance rather than one of nurturance? Are we prepared for the challenges to our privileged locations that can occur as a result of working with students who are exploring how heterosexism, sexism, racism, classism, ablism, agism maintains our privileged status? Supervisors are in many ways border workers and translators, as they learn the culture and language of academia in order to translate that for students (and themselves). In scenarios like this, she is also an advocate for the student and must help to translate and situate his work so that it can be recognized for its scholarly contribution in the academy and its potential to create new meanings in non-academic communities. It would be irresponsible for supervisors to not inform students who are embarking on 'nontraditional' or controversial projects of the possible resistance to their work from the academy. How much of this mediation, however, contributes to maintaining a safe zone for her/ourselves and as such to maintaining the status quo? How much have we internalized institutional control and become part of the panopticon? As faculty we must use our power responsibly, not ignore it.

What is the student's responsibility in this scene? At first glance, it seems that Bob is the one on the losing end of the process. Students are, however, not without power and resources and must also recognize their responsibility. Faculty are often viewed as individuals with a great deal of power. While it is the case that faculty do have power over students, it is never complete and it is often resisted. Faculty also must work within a web of hierarchical relations that are often not visible to the student, relations such as faculty-faculty, faculty-administration, faculty-community, and faculty-state. In our desire to support work that disrupts the status quo we must be evaluate our multiple relationships to power. We are also human, we have limitations, strengths and different personalities and histories which are all present in our supervision practice. Caught within the supervisor-student relationship are the many threads of a web of relations we continually weave.

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ADULT EDUCATION INC.
GLOBALIZATION, THE WORLD BANK AND EDUCATION

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The World Bank's reforms for education are a clear example of globalization, described as the cancer stage of capitalism. Adult education can act as a social immune response against the privatizing agenda of the World Bank by helping to enhance "civil capital" and build the healthy civil society we require to resist the colonizing effects of corporate globalization.

While adult education in Canada has historically had a strong social purpose and vision (Cruikshank 1993, 172), the modern practice of adult education has capitulated to technocratic ideology, market-driven logic and rampant individualism (Welton 1997, 31). Buffeted by the escalating effects of unregulated corporate globalization, it has recently come under the scrutiny of the World Bank as a new source of profit-making for transnational corporations.

Using Critical Theory as the framing paradigm, this paper will examine adult education at the crossroads between serving the lifeworld or serving the system that colonizes it. Confrontation of this choice becomes imperative in the face of the World Bank's plans for education as laid out at the recent UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education.

Corporate Globalization

Corporate globalization can be defined as the cancer stage of capitalism (McMurtry 1999), consuming the life that supports it by demanding ever higher levels of money accumulation while committing ever fewer resources to the social hosts that it invades.

Used in this sense, corporate globalization is a powerful force that is changing the fundamental relationship between markets and states, placing the world economy ahead of national economies (Drache and Gertler 1991, xi). Described by Cruikshank (1997, 2) as a doctrine that justifies social hierarchy and inequality, corporate globalization can have multi-layered consequences for all aspects of human life.

Khor (1997, 8) describes how the process of corporate globalization linked to liberalization has gained so much force that it has undermined the sustainable development agenda:

> The globalization process, enforced through the rules of WTO, rewards the strong and ruthless and punishes the weak and poor. In fact, it defines the criteria for success and failure, for survival and collapse. Its paradigm places profits and greed above all else, and its unregulated operation will continue to downgrade development, social and environmental concerns at both national and international levels.

Canada has experienced the forces of corporate globalization through mechanisms like trade agreements, which change the rules of the game by which business and government interact to construct the economy (Leach and Winson 1995, 345). Under the guise of financial deregulation, the Canadian government pursued the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the United States in order to tie future governments to its neoconservative agenda (Bienefeld 1993, 352), which forced Canada to set the terms on which it trades as low as possible (Cameron 1991, 446). Then it followed up with the North American Free Trade Agreement, which many feel is merely the visible tip of a globalization iceberg that will sink the economies of small countries like Canada (Cruikshank 1995, 459).

The effects of corporate globalization are seen everywhere in Canada: restructured education systems (Cruikshank 1997, 3) and health care systems (Lauzon and Hagglund 1998), bankrupt pension plans, minimized welfare allotments, reshaped employment structures and lower quality of worklife (Leach and Winson 1995, 344), and dismantled or unenforced environmental legislation (Mittelstaedt 1999, 5). There is a clear bias against the public sector (Cameron 1991, 436), promoted by an ideology of "getting the state off our backs" and "no free lunches" (McMurtry 1998, 215, 238) that hides the corporate globalization agenda of widening the scope for profit-making activity from the private to the public sector (Cameron 1991, 436).

The inner logic of corporate globalization is not to solve debt crises, but to keep governments indebted on a permanent and rising basis, while continuing to selectively feed on and dismantle social sectors (McMurtry 1999, 78). When discussing how countries across the globe are caught up in the concept of cutting education and health-care spending to pay off debts, the Moderator of the United Church believes that "people are dying in the process ... they are being sacrificed, literally, to the god of the market" (Phipps in Williams 1999, B5). In Canada, the national debt has had enormous repercussions for the public sector. Deliberately engineered as a means to cap social spending, the debt redistributed wealth to the Market from social expenditures on public health, education, worker safety and environmental protection (McMurtry 1999, 74, 77). This redistribution leaves the public sector weakened and vulnerable to privatization. Indeed, the global economic restructuring that accompanies corporate globalization is causing the state to withdraw from previously understood responsibilities (Hall 1996, 118) to such an extent that it is clear to many that the state has abandoned the lifeworld (Welton 1997, 37).

The World Bank and the Global Market

A term appropriated from the real producers' marketplace (McMurtry 1997, 13), 'the Market' has become reified, assumed and totalitarian, achieving a God-like status. And like the proverbial shark that stops moving, the Market that stops expanding dies (Cox 1999, 23).

One of the major institutions of this new Market religion is the World Bank. Along with the International Monetary Fund, it manages the debt burden of most third-world countries and designs the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) that increasingly transfer money from the poor to the rich. The World Bank, therefore, is on the ground floor of the world-wide economic restructuring that is the hallmark of corporate globalization.

One of the latest money-transferring ventures of the World Bank is adult education. Government support for post-secondary and adult education has grown over this century to the point that in many countries tuition is free or highly subsidized. This means that private corporations have been unable to make a profit from this public good. But since the object of the Market is continuous growth, corporations look to the public sector and see an enormous marketing opportunity in education. The World Bank, as handmaiden to the transnational corporations, aggressively promotes this marketing opportunity, even at the UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education in Paris in October 1998, where it presented a paper entitled *The Financing and Management of Higher Education: A Status Report on Worldwide Reforms.*

In this paper, the World Bank justifies the market orientation of reforms to tertiary education in terms of the "ascendance, almost worldwide, of market capitalism and the principles of neo-liberal economics" (Johnstone et al 1998, 3). While fundamental to its advocacy, this position is never questioned or explored, but understood as a given.

Although the World Bank maintains that the dominant theme of higher education in the 1990s has

been financial distress (Johnstone et al 1998, 2), nowhere in this paper does it mention the role that indebtedness and the World Bank played in the creation of this distress. Instead, it mentions enrolment pressure, rising education costs, increasing scarcity of public revenue [unexplained] and a growing dissatisfaction with the public sector in general - an attitude brought about by the endless repetition of the corporate mantra that the private sector is more efficient than the public sector.

In this paper, the World Bank claims that higher education is like a private good (Johnstone et al 1998, 3), and is thus up for sale. What will enable this commodification is a shift in decision-making power "not just *from government*, but also *from higher educational institutions* - and especially from the faculty - *to the consumer or client*" (Johnstone et al 1998, 4).

To lubricate this shift, the ideology promoted by the World Bank moves the "higher education cost burden from taxpayers to parents and students," which translates as full-freight tuition with no grants and no scholarships to hamper pure commodification. Those who can pay, will; those who cannot must do without or borrow from the banks, to inaugurate them into a lifetime of indebtedness.

The role of faculty in this totalitarian plan will conform to the market agenda. While university administrators have long aspired to corporate values, now faculty are expected to exercise "unleashed entrepreneurship" (Johnstone et al 1998, 4), thereby adding revenue to their institutions and benefit to their societies (25). The World Bank outlines the benefits of introducing entrepreneurial activities to universities:

> It helps introduce a market sensitive institutional culture; relevant training experience is introduced for students; cooperative links are established with business partners who might become involved in curriculum guidance, work placements, and part-time teaching arrangements, etc., all of which helps enhance quality of higher education and monetary inflow (Johnstone et al 1998, 16).

Currently seen as a politically powerful constituency (Johnstone et al 1998, 20), faculty can redeem themselves and become a corporate partner, which means "radically altering who the faculty are, how they behave, the way they are organized, and the way they work and are compensated" (22).

What effect will these proposed World Bank reforms have on adult education?

Adult Education

> Education has always been subject to external pressures that seek to subordinate its practice and goals to vested interests of some kind, whether of slave-holding oligarchies, theocratic states, political parties or merely prevailing dogmas of collective belief. The history of the development of social intelligence is largely a history of this conflict between the claims of education and inquiry, on the one hand, and the demands of ruling interests and ideologies on the other (McMurtry 1991, 209).

The ruling interests today are clear and unambiguous - transnational corporations. The World Bank's prescription for higher education promotes those interests, including the commodification of higher education for private profit. Increasingly, adult education, outside of those forms needed for market adjustment and maximization, will be left on the sidelines (Hall 1996, 118), ruling out the very critical freedom and academic rigour that education requires to be more than indoctrination (McMurtry 1991, 215).

The implications of the corporate globalization agenda for the practice of adult education are far-reaching. They would result in a total colonization by the system, affecting every aspect of adult education. Under the globalization agenda, adult education's role in society is one of service, meaning "a narrow, unidirectional focus on satisfying the needs of the corporate sector. ... Service to society is equated with service to industry" (Newson and Buchbinder in Newson 1993, 177).

The governance of adult education under the globalization agenda involves decision-making guided by market demands, with faculty as entrepreneurs managed by university administration.

Access to adult education under this agenda is open only to those who can pay the full-freight tuition. Those who cannot afford it will have to "invest in their future" by borrowing from the banking system, or be excluded.

Curriculum in adult education under the corporate globalization agenda is designed to be "attuned to the rising spirit of entrepreneurialism sweeping the world" (Denning 1997, 23). Corporations become business partners who might be involved in curriculum guidance (Johnstone et al 1998, 16) or given a place on the curriculum committee in exchange for loaning high-tech equipment (Newson 1998, 120). Courses turn into vehicles for corporate advertising, both in content and in appearance: in content, courses pander to anyone who can pay (Cruikshank 1993, 180); in appearance, they are covered, like sports figures, with corporate logos.

Teaching in adult education under this agenda will be done by academics reduced to neutered technicians helping to maintain and reproduce the existing power relationships in society (Cruikshank 1993, 181). Will the customer always be right in adult education under the globalization agenda?

Learning under the corporate globalization agenda becomes an output to offset the inputs or costs incurred (Johnstone et al 1998, 5) and must compete with learning in the private sector, which is cost-effective and market-responsive (25). Learning for earning will dominate, including proficiency-based learning for certification (Denning 1997, 23), while life-long learning becomes life-long adaptation to the 'needs' of the 'new' global economy (Welton 1997, 33).

Outcomes for an adult education under the corporate globalization agenda involve quantification and ownership. The overriding philosophy is the counting of anything that can be counted: How much money? How many students? (Cruikshank 1993, 180). The only knowledge that is recognized is knowledge that can be commodified and privately owned and/or used for privately conceived purposes (Newson 1998, 122). And, following Freire's (1996, 53) banking model of education, that knowledge will be deposited in the heads of students who can afford to pay for it. All in all, adult education under the corporate globalization agenda is reduced to technology that can be bought in the marketplace by the highest bidder (Cunningham in Cruikshank 1993, 173).

Discussion

Within civil society, Canadians have always struggled to create communicative space (Welton 1997, 35). Grassroots groups are one instance of what Welton (36) refers to as "cracking open blocked public space" and ensuring that reflective learning processes occur outside the control of government and private corporate interests. One example of grassroots groups opening up blocked public space is the Council of Canadians' opposition to the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), which helped to expose that secret treaty to public scrutiny and to block its enactment.

Adult education, in all its forms, has a role to play in supporting the opening of blocked public space. It can be instrumental in helping to build what I would call "civil capital." Civil capital is not based on money capital but on real capital, which is understood as wealth that creates more wealth. This civil wealth will help people and communities build the healthy civil society they require to

resist the colonizing effects of the cancer of corporate globalization.

While human capital is individualistic and has been co-opted by the system, civil capital is collective and serves the lifeworld. While social capital is social solidarity (Welton 1997, 36) that is local but not necessarily political, civil capital is avowedly political, building bridges among local groups as well as national and international groups.

Civil capital has its roots in what philosopher John McMurtry (1998, 24) calls the civil commons - "society's organized and community-funded capacity of universally accessible resources to provide for the life preservation and growth of society's members and their environmental life-host." One example of the civil commons in collective thought and action is democracy - the self-government of a society by its people in participant decision-making (371). Civil capital is built and maintained through democracy, brought about by people coming together to negotiate which actions to take about the problems they share - in essence, communicative action.

Communicative action creates a link between adult education and democracy - "What the theory of communicative action provides is access to a realm of rational discourse, nourished by aspirations to genuine participatory democratic action, in which adult education practice and research can meaningfully participate" (Collins 1991, 30). Indeed, education becomes firmly linked with democracy when it involves what Michael Welton (1995, 134-135) calls democratic learning communities. While this linkage can be blocked by an adult education under the globalization agenda, it can be enhanced by critical adult education - adult education that serves the lifeworld and rises out of the civil commons. Collins (1991, 114) affirms the role of adult education when he asserts that "the efforts to open up and maintain genuine participatory democratic discourse about a vital community concern is in keeping with the intent of a critical practice of adult education."

The last line of defence of the lifeworld against total colonization by the system is the civil commons, represented by community groups that are learning to stand up and fight against the ravages brought about by corporate globalization - factory closings, health and education restructuring and social service privatization. By supporting these democratic learning communities, adult education can help to create that dialogical space where opposition to corporate globalization can grow. It can also help to build and maintain civil capital. In this way, adult education can act as a "social immune response" (McMurtry 1999, 89) to the cancer that is corporate globalization, providing an opportunity for an education that serves the public good, not the privatizing agenda of the World Bank and the transnational corporations it represents.

Conclusion

Corporate globalization is having profound consequences for adult education and is changing the relationship between the university and society. Denning (1997, 3) emphasizes the inevitability of such change and admonishes us to face the realities of the "new university" - it is "fruitless to deny them and pointless to despair over them." In the end, it would seem that educators, to survive, must learn to pimp off a system that produces so much misery for so many people.

But an adult education colonized by the system par excellence, corporate globalization, is not inevitable. It is the outcome of human choices driven by system values, not lifeworld values. Recognition of this stitch-by-stitch choice matrix is the first step in understanding how we have arrived at this crisis in adult education. Taking on the role of social immune response is the next step, helping to build civil capital by guiding, supporting and reinforcing choices driven by lifeworld values. These choices may seem small at the time, but they weave a civic understanding of what it means to be more than a consumer in the global Market.

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PARTICIPATORY EDUCATION: CRITICAL THEORY IN PRACTICE (SUMMARY)*

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ABSTRACT:

Critical pedagogy must incorporate both critical social theory and critical process. I argue for a pedagogy of participatory democratics which includes the envisioning of alternative social relations and the space for contestation of the process itself (reflecting Judith Butler's 'contingent foundations').

La pédagogie critique doit comprendre la théorie sociale critique ainsi que le processus critique. Je plaide pour une pédagogie de la démocratie participatoire comprenant une vision de relations sociales alternatives et l'e space pour la contestation du processus lui-même (reflétant les 'bases contingentes' de Judith Butler).

Introduction

I seek to integrate critical theorists' goals both on the micro-level of classroom practice and on the macro-level of large-scale social change. Within the field of Adult Education, in particular, we must take into account people's real, life-sustaining needs; therefore, critical pedagogy must be based implicitly upon critical social theory. I base my argument upon Foucauldian scholarship on normalization and Judith Butler's (1995) understanding of contingent foundations. Several critical theorists across academic disciplines, including Immanuel Wallerstein (1998), Seyla Benhabib (1995), Peter McLaren and Henry Giroux (1997), have called for the incorporation of a broader vision within critical theory; I argue that incorporating vision into practice requires two levels: participatory envisioning and reflection upon group practices, and idealistic imagining of alternative social realities. Such envisioning of alternatives and ideals would be framed both in reachable steps and as longer term goals. Practices historically advocated by Myles Horton and the methods used by Highlander Center are one model of incorporating vision into critical practice.

Critical Theory and Inquiry

Patricia Maquire defines critical inquiry as follows:

> Critical inquiry is used to help people see themselves and social situations in a new way in order to inform further action for self-determined emancipation from

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> oppressive social systems and relationships. In turn, action informs reflection, and people see themselves and their social conditions more clearly. ... Critical inquiry openly seeks to uncover and change the forms and mechanisms of domination and power. (Maquire 1987)

I argue that critical theory ought to derive its 'power as a critical and subversive discourse' (McLaren and Giroux 1997) distinctly from a populist standpoint. To me this means that theory and practice should be *interlinked*, not dichotomous, and that classroom practice, as one arena for critical inquiry, ought to become a space for examination of its own practice and social relations. Building upon Judith Butler's conceptualization of contingent foundations (1995), I argue that within a radical political framework it is important to theorize openness, both openness to a multiplicity of voices within social processes and openness to retheorization and reiteration of those processes by the people who use them.

Post-Foucauldian Theory on Normalization

Foucault's (1977a) conceptualizations of disciplinary power and normalization describe the framework for modern, nationalized systems of education, systems which homogenize and categorize people toward interchangeability within the workforce, systems developed in accordance with industrialized capitalism (Foucault 1977a). Subsequently, the education system becomes subject to normalized notions of time and postitivist notions of academic evaluation and progress.

Anna Marie Smith defines the hegemonic political project as "a universal framework for the interpretation of experience by ruthlessly eliminating alternative interpretations" (Smith 1994). Discipline within a particular historical-political context is a mechanism for disseminating such a framework. Smith continues: "it [the hegemonic political project] conceals this violent ground in that it pretends to perform merely the a-political and innocent recognition of 'facts'" (Smith 1994) The 'recognition of facts' for the hegemonic political project within a disciplinary society emanates within and from productions of reality and rituals of truth that grow out of normalized systems of knowledge, of fact production, which are inextricably bound with systems of power (Foucault 1977a).

Normalization and Participatory Democracy

To be truly ('radically') democratic, as I interpret this idea, indicates a *participatory* democracy (as opposed to various forms of representative democracy). Within participatory democracy I imagine a framework wherein community decisions (as participatory precludes decentralization) are contested and contestible by the most voices. As such, this complies with Butler's assertion that:

> A social theory committed to democratic contestation within a postcolonial horizon needs to find a way to bring into question the foundations it is compelled to lay down. (Butler 1995)

Extending Butler's theory of the subject to a theory of process, I believe that the *process* of radical democracy, or the means of communication and decision-making, must also be seen as "never fully constituted, but ... produced time and again... the permanent possibility of a certain resignifying process" (Butler 1995). It is only through the establishment of the ability of multiple and 'never fully constituted' subjects (Butler 1995) to question such foundations that a democracy will be truly and radically democratic.

When I use the term 'foundation' here, I mean a flexible foundation that can change as its socio-cultural environment changes, adaptive to context. A radical democracy can not be enforced from outside, but can only be established from within communities. Embedded within this framework lies the implication that negotiations between people are complex and mired with the implications of history and culture, including historical and contemporary power relations and inter-individual power dynamics.

If normative notions or processes are to be utilized for radical political aims, these must be continually reconstructed from their uses as instruments of and/or coercive means of reinforcing oppressive power - oppressive power within intercultural, intersubcultural, interorganizational, and interpersonal relations. Butler asserts:

> That such [contestible, normative] foundations exist only to be put into question is, as it were, the permanent risk of democratization. To refuse that contest is to sacrifice the radical democratic impetus ... . (Butler 1995)

Subsequently, what is necessary within a radically democratic system is an understanding of normative practices whereby contestation is open and public - 'normative' within the contexts of our interactions. Forefronting the interrelations within the group and the contextualizations imposed upon us from the outside as positions within intersecting power matrices, we can expose and implicate the socially constituted nature of normative practices and takes hold of the space for contestation of these practices.

Incorporating Vision and Critical Process into Critical Pedagogy

McLaren, Giroux and Highlander share similar goals both on the micro-level of classroom practice and on the macro-level of large scale social change. Among the aims of their projects, they advocate:

- radical, democratic social change as a long term goal.
- imagining and working toward alternative social models.
- student empowerment.
- understanding and teaching the politics of students' positions within the larger socio-economic system.
- enacting egalitarian relations within the classroom.
- focus on student experience and discourse.

(Adams 1975; Horton 1998; McLaren and Giroux 1997)

McLaren and Giroux assert that critical theory must "acknowledge that the pedagogical process itself represents an important aspect of the production of knowledge in classrooms" (McLaren and Giroux 1997). In McLaren and Giroux's conceptualization, a critical pedagogy involves "learning how to engage student experience within a pedagogy that is both affirmative and critical and which offers the means for self and social transformation" (McLaren and Giroux 1997).

Historically, the Highlander model has utilized a pedagogy based in student experience. For example, Joseph Hart, through whom Horton learned about the Danish folk schools, wrote that he learned through his experience as a folk educator that

> if *teaching* was to have any real share in *education*, it must learn, somehow, to work inside the experiences of those being taught, and not forever hang around on the periphery of experience, piously hoping that something might happen inside. (Hart, 1926; as quoted by Adams 1975; emphasis in original)

Highlander methods begin with the assumption that "[a]n individual's conscious process of critical thought begins in response to a perceived difficulty" (Adams 1975). Taking this individual critical consciousness further to embolden interconnection and social change, Highlander promotes cooperation and collective solutions to community problems within educational practice (Adams 1975). Subsequently, this model incorporates learning through action: "Whatever the students learned they were encouraged to practice" (Adams 1975).

McLaren and Giroux argue that: "More orthodox radical educational theorists have been unable to move from a posture of criticism to one of substantive vision, from a language of critique to a language of possibility." (McLaren and Giroux 1997) Benhabib also argues for envisioning as part of a radical theory:

> "... utopian thinking is a practical-moral imperative. Without such a regulative principle of hope, not only morality but also radical transformation is unthinkable." (Benhabib 1995)

Subsequently, she calls for "articulating the normative principles of democratic action and organization in the present." (Benhabib 1995) Other critical theorists have also expressed this need for a greater vision within theory. For example, Immanuel Wallerstein recently coined the term 'utopistics' in calling for this type of envisioning through "the serious assessment of historical alternatives, [and] the exercise of our judgment as to the substantive rationality of alternative possible historical systems" (Wallerstein 1998).

Foucault argues that analysis "should be concerned with power at its extremities, in its ultimate destinations, with those points where it becomes capillary, that is, in its more regional and local forms and institutions." (Foucault 1976) In advocating for a critical pragmatic (Forester forthcoming) visioning I believe that, likewise, our critical practice ought to engage these capillaries in creating alternative relations. In other words, in seeking to alter relations of dominance, critical theory ought to locate itself within critical practice disrupting oppressive relations from the extremities, i.e. from 'the ground'. In practice, incorporating vision into

teaching models must include both collectively-defined goals that the group can work toward and the space to imagine broader societal changes.

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IT TAKES TWO TO TANGO

DEFINING THE CENTURY AS A DISCOURSE BETWEEN LEARNING AND EDUCATION

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Abstract:

The long march of Education to include everyone, in principle, is over. We are now able to understand Education, as distinct from Learning, and contemplate the proper balance between the two. Prior Learning Assessment and regular surveys of informal learning are essential tools in the understanding and maintenance of that balance.

Resume:

La prolongee marche de l'education, de comprendre tout le monde, en principe, est finie. Enfin, nous pouvons considerer la distinction entre l'education et l'apprentissage., et examiner le equilibre entre les deux. "PLA" avec les etudes reguliers de l'apprentissage prive sont les outiles essential d'achever cet equilibre necessaire

The 1998 NALL survey of informal learning in Canada, reminds us , as Allen Tough (1979) did twenty years ago, that learning occurs outside of Formal Education, and outside of large private and public organizations, as persistently, if not more so, than inside them. It is determined solely by individual capacity and will, and, by the stimulation provided by the environment. However, unlike Tough's work, the NALL report takes place against a background of vociferous interest in "learning in the workplace", "learning organizations", "knowledge management" and a movement in support of "lifelong Learning". The dramatic shift from an obsession with "Education" to an equal fascination with "Learning" is one of the least recognized characteristics of "post-modernism". The discourse between the two, between Learning and Education, has become sufficiently obvious to demand recognition and examination.

All human groups, families, associations, communities, societies, - the State, must respond to the capacity of their individual "members" to learn. In the smallest groups

they do so by example and "coaching" . As the groups get larger, by whatever means, they turn to education while trying to retain the power and intimacy of the Learning Domain. Every group has two predominant objectives in such responses; one is socialization, the development of membership in and loyalty to the group, the other is the nourishment of individual talent. Both are means of survival for the group and the individual.

The past century, however else it is described, - there is considerable competition for the winning designation - must be acknowledged as the "Educational" century. While the relentless expansion of formal education, that is of the Educational "domain" (Thomas, 1991), has been characteristic of the entire millennium it reached its zenith in the middle of this century and appears to have been yielding in prominence, if not influence, to the Learning Domain since that time. While we remain committed to the inclusion of all the world's children within education, an unrealized goal of this century, we are beginning to consider whether both of these objectives can be realized by other means than Education, and what the implications of alternative responses to our capacity to learn might be. In essence, since the Learning and Educational Domains have always, and will continue to co-exist, that is to say the "tango " is inescapable, there remains the question of what their relationship should be. Perhaps we can finally begin to distinguish the dancer from the dance?

What that requires is an exploration of each Domain, and an estimate of what behaviour, in terms of learning outcomes, is characteristic of each. Aside from some theoretical analysis, that exploration is best done by examining specific contexts. There is no better context with which to start than that of Adult Education in Canada.

The Learning Domain:

The literature of Adult Education is filled with explicit and implicit references to the characteristics of individual learning. When the objective is freely chosen by the learner learning is spontaneous, affective, both requiring and releasing energy. To a large degree it is unselfconscious, with the goal, rather than the process, predominant. It is essentially a private endeavour though it most often takes place in groups of individuals. Free to chose the means, the resources, the occasions, and to decide when success has been achieved, the learner can experience one or both of the two principal learning outcomes, discovering something no one else has ever known, and discovering something the individual has never known. Each of those outcomes can have unpredictable results.

In the background is always the potential for action, resulting from the learning or with which the learning is inextricably involved. The Learning Domain is the source of social change. In fact, both scientific and non-scientific literature present the human being at her or his most attractive, when they are learning.

The Educational Domain:

Education transforms learners into students, in fact, into public learners. Means, resources, and success are determined by others. Compulsory participation as a child allows long-distant goals approached through successively determined periods of

time,- terms, years,- to which all students must conform. As well as dictating the way in which things should be learned, Education determines for the student which knowledge is of the greatest importance, that is what ought to be learned in and out of that Domain, a matter related both to the nourishment of talent and more especially to socialization. In return, the student has access to other students, to resources beyond the domestic community, and to public recognition of knowledge, skills and attitudes acquired. That recognition travels through both time and space, though better through the former than the latter. In the Educational Domain learning is harnessed in a context in which the goals, if not the precise means, are publicly controlled

What is clear is that Education seeks to elicit the characteristics associated with spontaneous learning, and sometimes it succeeds.

Adult Education in Canada:

In a pioneer, and immigrant society, adult learning is focused predominantly in the Learning Domain. The Ukranian immigrant settling on a quarter-section in Saskatchewan, or Susanna Moodie in Upper Canada (1986), had few teachers other than their peers. What we find are the major characteristics of the Learning Domain in the form of formal and informal groupings, for example the Wheat Pools, the Granges, the Mechanics Institutes, the Lyceums, all essentially self-help groups, where people facing common, unfamiliar, circumstances sought information, assistance, and comfort. The great University Extension Departments, particularly in the West, appearing around the turn of the last century defined themselves in terms of responding "informally"to the needs of farmers and their problems. Other than that there is little indication of the presence or relevance of formal education. The general contempt of the farmer for "book learning", even for his or her children, was common.

It is against this background of the predominant Learning Domain that Adult Education in Canada, in the first half of the century, made its most characteristic contributions. The Antigonish Movement, the two national Radio Forums, the Joint Planning Commission (Selman,1991), even the 1943 Manifesto. (Faris, 1975) exhibit a dependence on the elements of Learning as distinct from Education.. Allied, in the case of the Forums ,with broadcasting, an ambiguous supporter of Learning and Education,, their projects are infused with the presence and language of associations, groups, and the potential for action.. While they are often described as contributions to citizenship, that is socialization, they were also, to a lesser degree, means of the identification and nourishment of talent

By mid-century, the Educational juggernaut (Thomas, 1991) emerged. The developments are reflected clearly in the development of Adult Education. The argument advanced in the "White Paper" published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education in 1964, in contrast to the " 1943 Manifesto" ,is almost entirely in the language of Education. It is an argument, not for resources for individuals and groups to function more effectively in their communities and in Canadian society as a whole, but for unrestricted access by *adults* to the conventional resources of Education. What is described as the "professionalization" of Adult Education (Selman, 1991) was much

more its "technicalization" as it pursued equality in the extension of Education to adults in Canada - and indeed in the rest of the world. Education was becoming the solution to all the learning problems of the entire population, the single means of achieving the nurture of talent and socialization. Added to the needs for "citizenship education' arising from an adult population based on immigration were the need for lifelong socialization for all in a rapidly changing technologically dominated society.

The Educational juggernaut is not yet exhausted. While the second half of this century witnessed its steady extension upwards in terms of age, it is now moving relentlessly downwards, attempting to include younger and younger ages, who traditionally have remained in the Learning Domain until at least five years of age.

Nevertheless by the late nineteen-seventies, the extension of Education began to falter. On the one hand costs and the suspicion of unequal benefits from public expenditure resulted in a wholesale retreat by governments from educational expenditures. On the other, the explosion of new technical knowledge lead to the outstripping of the Educational Domain, by the Learning Domain. The private sector, in particular, embarked on using the individual capacity to learn, and its associated characteristics, as the basis of competitive success. The contemporary language of "learning organizations", "teams", and "lifelong learning" bears a remarkable similarity to the language of Adult Education of the first half of this century when it was more firmly rooted in the Learning Domain. What is questionable is that while it undoubtedly supports the nourishment of talent, its contribution to socialization is unexamined and probably divisive in terms of the society as a whole. A further cost of these developments is that increasing numbers of adults, particularly young adults, are being excluded from the Education Domain, and from the richer, more stimulating environments of the Learning Domain represented by large, public and private, organizations.

One result of such developments is reflected in the recent history of Iran and Jugoslavia. While, in those cases, the establishment, through both Education and the elite learning environments represented one set of cultural goals, other goals were being fostered in the the more populated Learning Domain. When learning is devoted to objectives that run counter to what is being taught, the outcome can be catastrophic.

Another result is the emergence of Prior Learning Assessment, a widespread contemporary procedure for allowing new, repetitive, intersections between the Learning Domain and the Educational Domain, with a two-way impact of each upon the other. While the use of PLA(R) seems, at its most limited, merely a seduction of the learning accomplished in the Learning Domain by the Education Domain, at its most imaginative, it can represent the triumph of the necessary dance between the two. It is not so much the specific results of the achievement of public recognition for private individual learning that matters as the value of the process itself, which has the potential for promoting the kind of "enlightened" self-consciousness on the part of learner and the educational system that embodies the "liberal education" and in the

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short and long run, ensures, however tempestuously, the proper relationship between Learning and Education. Again however, a shortcoming of PLA(R) is that it's contribution to socialization, as indicated by the unresolved issues of residence, is highly ambiguous.

If that process, available as it is on a large scale in Canada, is combined with regular surveys of informal learning, such as the recent NALL survey, publicly reported, we would have a further institutional basis for the health and vitality of that discourse, essential to survival of a contemporary society.

This "tango" is part of the fabric of the world, and its history. The 17th Century, in the West involved the increasing irrelevance of the universities to contemporary life, and the appearance of the "Academies" where intellectual vitality was lodged for more than a century. It seems clear, with the proliferation of the contemporary "think tank" that history is repeating itself, that some "tectonic' shift is taking place in the relationship of Learning and Education The principal indication of that general imbalance, is the failure in the balance between socialization and the nourishment, sometimes the exploitation, of talent. Adult Educators, based on their greater opportunities to witness the dance between Learning and Education has the responsibility and opportunity to ensure that both partners to the dance are in step and in tune.

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A NEW INITIATIVE FOR CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA AMAZON PROJECT

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Abstract

This paper discusses how the Institute for Professional Development, at the University of Alberta, is trying to overcome the barriers to participation in continuing professional development (CPD) through the establishment of the Amazon Project - an initiative aimed at mapping CPD courses, programs, and resources available through the University.

A NEW INITIATIVE FOR CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA AMAZON PROJECT

Introduction

Universities have existed in Canada since the establishment of New France (Harris, 1966). As the nation grew, programs developed and expanded to meet the educational needs of the time. Today Canadian universities deliver programs to over 573,100 full-time students (Jones, 1997). It would be a mistake, however, to look at full-time enrollment as a representation of the entire student population. Universities are beginning to see changing patterns of enrollment. In the 1997/98 school year, for example, 249,700 students studied on a part-time basis (Statistics Canada, 1998). This not only involved students in undergraduate and graduate degree education, but a significant number of learners in non-degree, and continuing professional development (CPD) programs.

What is the reason for this change? A single degree can no longer viewed as significant a factor as it used to be as entry step into the world of employment and career development. Continuing professional development has become a life-long process and necessity for many adults. Institutions of higher education have come to recognize this and are preparing to meet the needs of the future.

The University of Alberta serves the professional development needs of adults through its continuing education programs offered by the Faculties of Extension, Business, and several other professional faculties. The University recognizes that, in order to succeed in providing leadership in continuing professional development, it needs to stimulate greater innovation, synergy, and partnerships. A major strategic step to achieve this was the establishment of the Institute for Professional Development (IPD).

The goal of the IPD is to promote the advanced study and innovative practice of CPD at the University of Alberta. To accomplish this, the IPD recognized that it must help CPD clients overcome existing obstacles to effective CPD participation. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) state that one of the primary obstacles to the participation of adults in educational programs is a barrier to information. For example, while many of the professional faculties at the University offer degree and non-degree CPD programs, historically, there have been few meaningful university-wide efforts to organize these activities into an integrated, coherent, and accessible database. It became evident to the IPD that a tool was needed to assist adult learners, clients and partners in navigating through the CPD forest in search of knowledge resources that are often difficult to locate in a large university.

This paper will briefly discuss how the IPD is currently trying to overcome this barrier through the establishment of the Amazon Project - an initiative aimed at mapping CPD activities and resources. It is our hope that a better understanding of the approach taken for the Amazon Project will help prepare others in the future who choose to take on such a task.

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The Amazon Project

The IPD launched the Amazon Project in September of 1998 motivated by the need to gain a better understanding of the landscape of CPD at the University. The intention was to create a searchable database or map of CPD resources available through the University of Alberta. By creating a knowledge database that mapped resources and opportunities, it was believed that the IPD would be in a better position to serve faculty, alumni, professional associations, corporations and adult learners around the world. The initiative, however, became more challenging as the team began to plan and implement its exploratory research.

The Forest Metaphor - Identifying Species

Mapping the CPD resources in a large institution is like mapping the Amazon rainforest, a formidable task as the research team explores the ever-changing landscape. One of the first challenges the Amazon Project experienced was defining the scope of the initiative. As the Amazon Project team explored further into the CPD forest, it discovered a wide array of creatures and habitats. Most were familiar species, but others were new and called for closer scrutiny. Challenges, such as how to define terms such as profession, continuing education, and continuing professional development, have become a part of the adventure of mapping the CPD forest.

The term continuing education often connotes learning activities beyond an undergraduate degree or its' equivalent. "Universities, for instance, tend to be comfortable with the term on the assumption that it implies the subsequent education of their graduates, or at least educational activities at a reasonably advanced level" (Selmen, Selmen, Cook & Dampier, 1998, p. 19).

The Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education (Smith, 1991) distinguishes between the various types of continuing education. The first involves courses offered by a university in general interest areas such as language, dance, art and music. These courses are offered on a non-credit basis and are generally delivered in the evenings or on weekends. The other type of continuing education activity involves the delivery of courses to meet the needs of professional associations, firms and industry. This "requires intensive, short-term, custom-designed courses, structured, located and scheduled to suit the clients" (Smith, 1991, p.81). The Commission recognized that this type of continuing education could generate substantial profit and recommended that universities should become involved in co-operation with industry and labor to deliver such programs.

It was a challenge for IPD to distinguish between this second category of continuing education and continuing professional development. The terms are often used interchangeably in the literature. It was, therefore, necessary for the IPD to further explore the notion of a profession

Traditionally, the term professional has been applied to doctors, lawyers, engineers, scientists, professors, architects, ministers, dentists, librarians, teachers and veterinarians, among others. Today, there are many other occupations that might be considered professions. Houle

(1980) introduces a dynamic meaning of the term. While static definitions attempt to clearly set rules as to what a profession is and is not (a checklist per se), the dynamic conceptualization of the term profession sees occupations along a scale or continuum. The question then evolves from "is this occupation a profession" to "how professionalized is this occupation"? Each occupation is considered somewhere along a continuum of professionalization. This means that occupations can develop into professions. While there seems to be no agreed upon definition regarding the term profession itself, most theorists today believe that the dynamic, or process definition, is more accurate than the static (Cervero, 1988; Houle, 1980; Curry & Wergin, 1993).

Choosing A Direction

After reviewing the literature, IPD was faced with some tough decisions. How should a profession and CPD be defined in the context of the Amazon Project? Should the Institute adhere to traditional beliefs, or travel in a new direction? The answers the team was searching for were revealed in the IPD Strategic Plan, which stated the following assumptions regarding CPD:

- CPD is characterized by a rapidly evolving knowledge and technology base;
- professionals and professions involve a wide range of knowledge workers, recognized collectively as established or emerging professions; and
- learning is at the core of CPD.

The IPD recognized that society is becoming increasingly knowledge intensive, and that the well-being of individuals, organizations and communities are becoming increasingly dependent on the development and use of knowledge. In comparison to the term professional, the term knowledge worker was chosen as a more inclusive and more accurate description of the practitioner who is served by university continuing education organizations. The term knowledge worker could include those in the established professions as well as information systems and computer software developers, communications specialists (in public relations, marketing and promotions), managers and administrators, multi-media experts, salespersons and retailers, writers, editors. In other words, those whose work involves adding value to information in order to transform it into knowledge for use by their clients and customers.

While there are some similarities between knowledge workers, there are also many differences. Knowledge workers may or may not belong to formal organizations called professional associations. The body of knowledge they have mastered may be derived from science or from some other field of study. Altruism may or may not be a core value to knowledge workers.

Acknowledging this, IPD adopted a broad definition of a professional as any knowledge worker, whose practice is based on the mastery and application of a substantive body of theoretical and practical knowledge to the solution of specific problems that arise in the vital affairs of society regardless of their degree of formal professionalization. While using the traditional definition of the term professional would have made the mapping of CPD activities at the University simpler, it could have potentially restricted the scope of IPD's mapping exercise

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and, potentially, its value to the University's CPD constituents.

Political Implications of CPD Mapping

Another challenge the Amazon Project has faced is the suspicion and resistance from a few faculties within the University of Alberta. Maps influence the definition of territories. By creating maps of CPD, the IPD map-makers may be perceived as "staking out" political territories and borders. Maps, as declarations of boundaries, can be a threat to those whose claims over territories have already been made. It has become important, therefore, for IPD to specifically declare that it does not intend to compete with faculties by directly delivering CPD programs. Instead, IPD serves as a locus and focus of expertise for all faculties interested in pursuing advanced study and innovative practice in CPD. Instead of competing with other faculties, the IPD will work with other faculties and departments in pursuing the missions of the university, specifically in the area of knowledge workers, professions, professional association, professionalization and professional development. IPD's goal is not to provoke political and territorial conflict. Rather, it is to promote the advanced study and practice of CPD by assembling resources, facilitating innovation, and stimulating synergy among stakeholders in the complex jungle of CPD.

Finding Our Way Together

These challenges have had a profound effect on the progress of the Amazon Project. Yet the IPD recognizes the importance of the work and is determined to continue. It has become evident that the educational needs of adults have changed in the last ninety-nine years. As we approach the new millenium, we must recognize this and make plans for the future by incorporating CPD into the university system and creating a coherent strategy and an effective organization that can implement it.

The Amazon Project hopes to make a difference in the lives of adult learners by transcending the traditional barriers to continuing professional development. The research will evolve as the team maneuvers through the complexities of the territory and continues to map the evolving growth in the metaphorical forest, hoping that its work will enable all stakeholders easier access to relevant knowledge from the University of Alberta and its partners.

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